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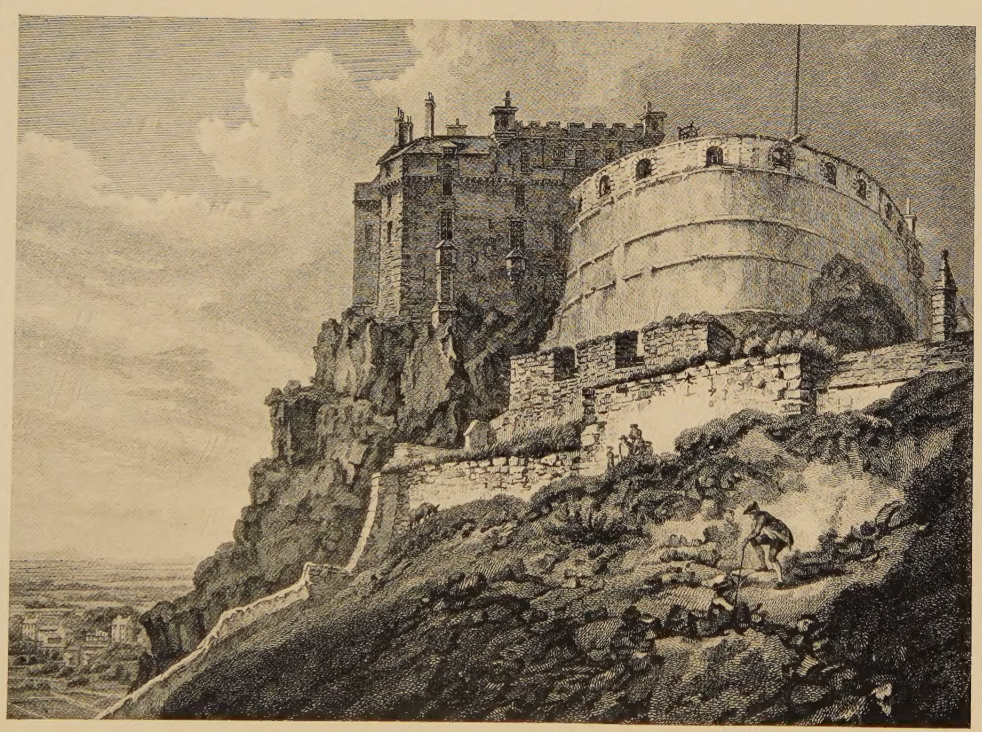

EDINBURGH CASTLE IN 1780.

From a drawing by T. Hearne. Engraved by W. Byrne and S. Middiman.

ROYAL PALACES OF SCOTLAND

BY

HELEN DOUGLAS-IRVINE, M.A. (St. Andrews)

EDITED BY

R. S. RAIT

ILLUSTRATED

LONDON
CONSTABLE & COMPANY LTD
1911

DA875
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Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
At the Ballantyne Press, Edinburgh

Note by the Editor of the Series

THIS book is a companion volume to the series dealing with the Royal Palaces and the Episcopal Palaces of England. That series was inspired by work done for the "Victoria History of the Counties of England," the plan and scope of which prevented its writers from using much of the interesting material accumulated in the course of their investigations. No such material has been available in the present instance, but the author of this sketch of the Royal Palaces of Scotland is one of the staff of the "Victoria History," and she has employed to good purpose the experience thus gained. The story of the dwellings of the Kings of Scotland will, it is believed, not be found inferior in interest to the volumes with which it is associated. The opinions expressed in the book are those of the writer.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD,
August 1911.

Nov. 1948
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Introductory Chapter

THE royal palaces of Scotland, if the term be taken to denote those houses of the kings which served them as residences, have a place in the constitutional and political history of the country.

It is probable that the early Celtic kings quartered themselves with their attendants on different subjects in turn. Thus the obligation of the nation to support a sovereign was maintained. As the character of the kingly office changed from that of a chieftain to that of a landlord, there came to be demesne lands of the crown and in them palaces. Even, however, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when for practical purposes the kingdom was bounded by the Forth and the Tay, the king would seem to have passed from house to house within his narrow dominions.

Perhaps the practice arose from the necessity of providing fresh pastures for needy retainers. These were probably, as they were in Welsh courts, not courtiers but attendants or servants, who acquired by their duties no dignity. In Wales they belonged to the class of lesser freemen.

In the end of the eleventh and in the early twelfth century, when the influence of England made itself felt in Scotland, there was a change in the manners and the customs of the court. Some ceremony and a degree of luxury were introduced; the courtiers were

chosen from the highest class, and came to be associated so closely with nobility that their office acquired power itself to confer rank. Thus the Scottish court approximated to the continental rather than to the Welsh or Irish model.

The greater stateliness was facilitated by an improvement in architecture, of which there is evidence in the many churches and religious houses built by David I., and which must have been accompanied by an increased skill in the lesser decorative arts.

As the kingdom expanded to its present limits the wandering habits of the court increased. David I. incorporated this practice of his ancestors in the policy which he borrowed from the Norman kings of England. Like William I. he built all over his country strong keeps; and he and his descendants kept their court at one after the other of these. Scotland until the union of the crowns had always a weak central government, because of her poverty and because of the strong local influence of her great families. As previously it was expedient that the burden of supporting the royal household should be borne in turn by different districts. Moreover it was wise to cause to be felt from time to time in every part of the land the military and the judicial strength of the monarchy. In England a like end was attained by a connection with the central power of local institutions.

The early houses of Scottish kings were probably all to some extent fortresses. The history of some of them ended with the War of Independence, because it was the policy of Robert the Bruce to demolish strongholds of which the enemy might take advantage. His resources were inadequate to maintaining garrisons in all the castles of David I. as well as an army in the field. The number of royal castles was further

diminished by the grants made by the Bruce to attach to himself his followers or to reward them; and by the piety of David II., that "sair sanct to the crown," who endowed so many religious foundations.

The first two Stewart kings, Robert II. and Robert III., are among the least efficient of Scottish rulers. They lived much in remote parts of the kingdom, led apparently by a fondness for the hereditary possessions of their family and by a love of hunting. To this failure to carry about with them in constant progresses order and peace, have been ascribed some of the difficulties which James I. and James II. encountered in seeking to hold in check the turbulent nobles and their followers.

The repressive policy of these latter kings entailed many forfeitures, and thus increased the number of houses which were crown property. In this period however, the fifteenth century, there came to be a distinction between a castle and a palace. A time of comparative peace and order rendered it unnecessary for kings to live immured within fortresses; the ancient keeps were inadequate for the entertainment of their households, their ministers, and their guests; and the Renascence had come to Scotland and brought wider needs and the ability to supply them. Moreover the skilful government of James IV. made the country unprecedentedly wealthy.

Thus castles were converted into palaces, or castles were abandoned as residences and new palaces built in their place. To the first class belong Stirling and Linlithgow; to the second, Holyrood and Falkland.

The kings still wandered from house to house; and both the political and the economic reasons subsisted to maintain the practice. The ancient policy

is evinced in the building of some new fortresses. In connection with the economy of Scotland, it is notable that the parliament, a somewhat exotic growth, granted to the king few and small subsidies, that he depended largely on the rents of his demesne lands, and that these were frequently paid in kind. The situation of the palaces was greatly determined by that of the lordships of the crown; the king travelled from place to place, in order to consume the produce of his possessions, as well as to make his power felt throughout the land.

The courtiers who accompanied him were persons of importance. The kingcraft of the Stewarts was exercised to a great extent through the medium of favourites, often persons who owed entirely to them positions of power; consequently the court, like the Church, provided a sphere for the ambitious. It was none the less burdensome to the district on which it was quartered.

It is difficult to discover the extent to which the royal progresses and the sojourns of the court were oppressive to the productive classes. There was much simplicity in the court as compared with those of England and of France; and probably the smallness of the population and the poverty of the country always prevented such social distinctions as deprive the labouring classes of power of expression. At the same time all the institutions of Scotland, this of travelling monarchs like the others, were fitted to oppress; and the land was so poor, that the people called upon to supply the needs of their sovereign can have had little, if any, marginal wealth.

To ascertain the exact date at which most of the fortresses were abandoned as residences is impossible. In the fifteenth century the sovereigns

were often lodged in monasteries or in the houses of burghers, in places in which their ancestors had inhabited the castles. At the same time, even in the early sixteenth century, kings are known to have dwelt at times in strongholds.

Queen Mary was less of a wanderer than any of her predecessors. She may be said to have lived at Holyrood, and thence to have visited other parts of her dominions. From this time Holyrood was the royal palace of Scotland, that which was associated with the conception of the country as a separate kingdom. James VI., from the date of the attainment of his majority, generally spent his winters in it; but his love of sport led him to pass much time in houses more rurally situated. The Stewart kings, after they had succeeded to the English throne, visited as royal palaces of Scotland, Holyrood, Stirling, Falkland, Linlithgow, and Dunfermline. With the power of the English government behind them, with the increased prestige of their new position, it was as unnecessary for them as it would have been distasteful, to sojourn in the less important houses which belonged to the crown.

Of all the historical palaces only Holyrood has been able to preserve until modern times a vestige of kingly dignity. The others are ruins, barracks, or the dwelling-places of subjects. In the nineteenth century, however, Scotland assumed a new relation to England. It had been regarded as a land poverty-stricken, deficient in all the graces of civilisation, and savagely hideous, which Anne and the Georges were glad to be able to govern without personal visits. The poets taught an appreciation of grandeur in nature, and the advantages of Scotland for sport were discovered. Thus, late in the nineteenth cen-

tury, there came to be the royal houses of Balmoral and Abergeldie; and royal personages were frequently in Scotland, and, like the Stewart kings, united by their sojourns the attainment of a political object and the gratification of a love of sport.

The architecture of Scottish castles and palaces is treated exhaustively by Messrs. MacGibbon and Ross in their "Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland," and it is necessary only to summarise their conclusions.

There are no remains to give evidence of the structure of the twelfth-century castles; but it is probable that, like the Norman keeps, they were built of stone and lime. In the thirteenth century castles were certainly constructed in such manner. Their plan was that of a "large fortified enclosure," which, with some exceptions, was roughly quadrilateral, and which frequently had in the angles round or square towers. Rothesay is peculiar in having an oval plan. The curtain walls were from seven to nine feet thick, and from twenty to thirty feet high. The gateway was wide, and protected by a portcullis; and there was sometimes also a postern door. It is surmised that the garrison was lodged within the angle towers, and that there were other buildings within the enclosure which leant against the curtain walls. The allusions to the flocks and herds of the castles, to the practice of using castles as places of refuge for the neighbouring populations, explain the great area of the enclosures. The site of these castles is, as a rule, comparatively low, and appears to have been determined by the presence of a water supply.

In the fourteenth century, after the devastations of the invading armies of England, castles were built

on a simpler plan, designed as the most defensible. Usually they were merely square or round towers, which were defended from a parapet at the roof; but in some instances a small wing made an L-shaped building. The ground floor was vaulted, and was used as a storehouse or a stable; it had sometimes a loft in which servants slept. Often it communicated with the first floor only by a hatch. On the first floor was the chief entrance, reached by a movable staircase or ladder which led into the hall, the living-room of the castle. This occupied the whole of a story, and had a vaulted roof; but, as a rule, its upper part was cut off by a wooden floor, and contained several rooms. Above was another story in which were private apartments; and there was generally a yet higher chamber, sometimes vaulted, which carried the roof. In the thickness of the walls there might be chambers; and there was at one corner the staircase which led from the hall to the upper stories and roof.

The roof was generally of stone slabs, and had a gutter which was drained through projecting gargoyles, plain or carved. There was a parapet walk, uninterrupted by chimney-stacks since these were carried up on the inner side of the thick walls.

Round the castles was a courtyard enclosed by a wall and sometimes of considerable extent, and defended by towers. The expansion of fourteenth-century keeps to meet the needs of a later age was possible through the existence of this court, in which additional buildings could be erected, and which could gradually be absorbed into the castle itself.

The last period in which historical castles or palaces were built in Scotland was that of the Jameses, from 1406 to 1542. Its peculiar architecture is

distinct; it is that of houses built or adapted to surround courtyards.

In Doune and other earlier castles a keep forms part of the buildings; but a keep larger than its prototypes, which has on each story more accommodation, and has additional towers both to furnish other rooms and for purposes of defence. It has a separate entrance and can be separately defended. The other buildings which are round the courtyard are the reception or banqueting halls, the chapel, the state-rooms, and the kitchens and offices. The entrance is generally a vaulted passage which passes under part of the building into the quadrangle, and is defended by a portcullis or gates.

In such later examples of architecture of this type as Stirling and Linlithgow the defensive features are less developed, and the state and domestic apartments are more commodious and numerous. The design is more luxurious and fanciful; and latterly the ornament shows the influence of the Renascence.

Keeps of the fourteenth-century pattern were still built under the Jameses; but they show in points of detail a great modification of style. They and the quadrangular castles were alike, according to ancient use, defensible from the battlements. The effect of the introduction of guns is shown by the port-holes and embrasures found in buildings of the period.

It is proposed in this introduction to give an account of royal houses, other than Holyrood, Stirling, Falkland, Linlithgow, and Balmoral, in which kings of Scotland have dwelt, and to notice some stages in the development of the court.

The various provinces of which Scotland was made were united in the ninth and tenth centuries under the rule of Kenneth MacAlpin and his suc-

cessors. Kenneth died at his palace of Fort Teviot, or Dun Fothir, on the Earn; and his kingdom passed to his brother Donald, whose death occurred, according to one chronicler, at his palace of Cuin Belachoir, according to another at Loch Adhbha, or "the loch of the palace." But the chief residence of royalty in this period came to be Scone, the capital, called "civitas regalis" under Constantine II., who ruled from 900 to 943, and who held on the Moot Hill of Scone an ecclesiastical assembly. Fordun relates that Malcolm II., king from 1005 to 1034, when he gave away all Scotland, reserved for himself only the Moot Hill of Scone. The tale, probably founded on traditions of the introduction of feudalism into Scotland, preserves the fact that Scone was pre-eminently a royal place. Its kingly associations survived until modern times, for it remained the place at which rulers of Scotland must be crowned.

Its situation was central in the early kingdom, and had the advantage of proximity to the river Tay. The house of the kings is said to have stood on the site of the later palace begun by the Earl of Gowrie, who raised the conspiracy of 1600, the palace which has in its turn been replaced by a modern building. There is no evidence as to the structure of the ancient house. Mr. E. W. Robertson considers it probable that Malcolm II. first abandoned the habits of kings who dwelt successively with different nobles, and established at Scone a fixed court.

Before the days of Malcolm II., Edinburgh had been ceded to the Scots; and in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, who ruled from 1058 to 1093, another palace became a frequent dwelling-place of kings, that of Dunfermline. When Malcolm married the Saxon princess Margaret in 1070, he held at Dunfermline a tower of

which the foundations are still to be seen on the mound surrounded on three sides by the Linn burn, in the grounds of Pittencrieff and a little to the west of the later palace. It was at Dunfermline that Margaret spent most of her life as a queen, and that her children were born; and from her confessor Turgot we learn the manner in which her time was passed. Her chief work was the foundation of Dunfermline Abbey, which "she beautified with rich gifts of various kinds, amongst which, as is well known, were many vessels of pure and solid gold for the sacred service of the altar." Her chamber in the palace was a very school of embroidery. "It was, so to speak, a workshop of sacred art: in which copes for the cantors, chasubles, stoles, altar-cloths, together with other priestly vestments and church ornaments of an admirable beauty were always to be seen, either already made or in course of preparation. These works were entrusted to certain women of noble birth and approved gravity of manners, who were thought worthy of a part in the queen's service. No men were admitted among them, with the exception only of such as she permitted to enter along with herself when she paid the women an occasional visit. No giddy pertness was allowed in them, no light familiarity between them and men; for the queen united so much strictness with her sweetness of temper, so great pleasantness even with her severity, that all who waited upon her, men as well as women, loved her while they feared her, and in fearing loved her." Turgot tells of the strict upbringing of the royal children, and that "during the solemnities of the Mass, when they went up to make offerings after their parents, never on any occasion did the younger venture to precede the elder; the custom being for the elder to go before

the younger according to the order of their birth."

The queen was very charitable. "When she went out of doors, either on foot or on horseback, crowds of poor people, orphans, and widows flocked to her as they would have done to a most loving mother, and none of them left without being comforted. But when she had distributed all she had brought with her for the benefit of the needy, the rich who accompanied her, or her own attendants, used to hand to her their garments, or anything else they happened to have by them at the time, that she might give them to those who were in want; for she was anxious that none should go away in distress. Nor were her attendants at all offended, nay, rather each strove who should first offer her what he had, since he knew for certain that she would pay it back twofold. Now and then she helped herself to something or other out of the king's private property, it mattered not what it was, to give to a poor person; and this pious plundering the king always took pleasantly and in good part." In the seasons of Lent and Advent the almsgiving and the religious exercises of the queen redoubled, and her life was one of extraordinary sanctity. She spent much time in church; daily she washed the feet of six poor persons and fed them; and every morning she gave food to nine little orphans. "She did not think it beneath her to take them upon her knee." Moreover, every day three hundred persons were brought into the royal hall. "The king on the one side and the queen on the other waited on Christ in the person of His poor, and served them with food and drink." In addition, throughout the year she supported twenty-four poor people. "It was her will that wherever she lived they also should be living in

the neighbourhood, wherever she went they were to accompany her."

Such pious details chiefly constitute the earliest description of a Scottish court. We can picture the many poor, Scots and English fugitives from the Conqueror's severities, who must constantly have thronged the entrances to the palace, and crowded around the queen as she passed to the abbey church, or rode or walked in the country of Fife. On the road to Queensferry, rather more than a mile from Dunfermline, there is still to be seen a stone in the form of a seat, on which, according to tradition, Queen Margaret sat, when she wished in the open fields to give free access to all suppliants.

It was Margaret who began a new epoch in the history of the court of Scotland by the introduction of some of the stateliness to which she had been accustomed in more southern lands. There was in her character a regard for form to which outward pomp made appeal. She "arranged that persons of a higher position should be appointed for the king's service, a large number of whom were to accompany him in state whenever he either walked or rode abroad. This body was brought to such discipline that, wherever they came, none of them was suffered to take anything from any one, nor did they dare in any way to oppress or injure country people or the poor. Further, she introduced so much state into the royal palace that not only was it brightened by the many colours of the apparel worn in it, but the whole dwelling blazed with gold and silver; the vessels employed for serving the food and drink to the king and to the nobles of the realm were of gold and silver, or were at least gold-plated." Moreover, "through her suggestion new costumes of different fashions were

adopted, the elegance of which made the wearers appear like a new race of beings;" and Lord Hailes has conjectured that she invented tartan. Turgot apologises for the seeming worldliness of these cares. "All this the queen did, not because the honour of the world delighted her, but because duty compelled her to discharge what the kingly dignity required. For even as she walked in state, robed in royal splendour, she, like another Esther, in her heart trod all these trappings under foot, and bade herself remember that beneath the gems and gold lay only dust and ashes."

Under the immediate successors of Malcolm III., Donald Bane, Duncan, Edgar, and Alexander I., the country between the Forth and the Tay was still the central part of the kingdom; and the kings lived at Dunfermline, Stirling, and Scone. Alexander I. dwelt also at Invergowrie, on the Firth of Tay:—

"In Invergowry a sesowne
Wyth an honest curt he bade
For there a maner-plas he hade,
And all the land by and by
Wes his demayne than halyly."

And after a successful expedition to the north,

"Syne he sped him wyth gret hy
Hame agayne til Invergowry
And in devotyowne movyd, swne
The Abbay he fowndyd than of Scwne.
Fra Saynt Oswaldis of Ingland
Chanownis he browcht to be serwand
God and Saynt Mychael, regulare
In-til Saynt Awstynys ordyr thare."

Among the lands which, with the consent of his queen Sibylla, Alexander granted to the abbey were ten carucates of his estate of Invergowrie, and these must

have included the site of his house. It is said traditionally to have stood on a field on the farm of Menzieshill, a little to the north of Invergowrie House.

In Scone Abbey the ancient palace was probably incorporated, but it continued to be a frequent residence of kings. According to one theory there was already in the place a settlement of Culdees, whom the Augustinian monks replaced. The monastic buildings were destroyed by the iconoclasts of 1559.

David I., the brother and successor of Alexander, who reigned from 1124 to 1153, was an innovator. He was an architect king, who remitted three years' rent and tribute to all of his subjects willing to improve their dwellings, as well as the fashion of their dress and their manner of living; and it may be concluded that his tastes were exercised in the royal palaces. Moreover, he was probably the founder of most of the Anglo-Norman keeps which Edward I. found in the country.

Under David the Lothians and Strathclyde were made directly subject to the crown; and the centre of government shifted to the lands south of the Forth. From this time until the death of Alexander III. in 1286, kings of Scotland dwelt much in the castles of Roxburgh, Peebles, and Traquair. David kept his court also at Scone, Berwick, Elbottle, Glasgow, Cadzow, Strath Irewin, Abernethy, and Banff. He held most of the earldom of Northumberland during the greater part of his reign, and he was frequently at Newcastle.

At Roxburgh and Peebles the castles were fortresses: that of Peebles stood at the head of the High Street, and commanded the peninsula formed by the Tweed and the Eddleston. Traquair is said to have

been a hunting seat of the kings, and a forest belonged to it: between 1133 and 1142 David made a grant of the wood and timber of his forests of "Selesckircke and Traocquair." The ancient castle, or part of it, may have been incorporated in Traquair House.

The king's early education had been received in England; and he continued his mother's work of introducing into the Scottish court some of the ceremony and the refinement which obtained in that of the Norman kings. Previously to his reign the only court officers appear to have been the constable, the justiciary, and the chancellor. Under David there were also a chamberlain and a mareschal; and the hereditary seneschalship, from which the Stewarts derived their dignity and name, was created. In another respect King David observed Margaret's tradition. "I have seen him," says his biographer, the abbot Aelred, "with his foot in the stirrup going to hunt, at the prayer of a poor petitioner leave his horse, return into the hall, give up his purpose for the day, and kindly and patiently hear the cause. . . . He often used to sit at the door of the palace, to hear the causes of the poor and old, who were warned upon certain days as he came into each district."

Malcolm IV. or the Maiden, the successor of David, died at Jedburgh in 1165. This castle had probably, like Roxburgh, been built by David to defend his border. Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh Castles were, with those of Edinburgh and Stirling, ceded to Henry II. of England by William the Lion at the treaty of Falaise.

The existing tower of Clackmannan dates from the fourteenth century, but the estate was held by the crown under David I., and it would appear that

in the reign of William the Lion it comprised a royal residence. That king in 1195 fell so alarmingly ill at Clackmannan that he assembled his nobles; and, since as yet he had no son, announced to them that he would appoint as his successor Otho of Saxony, who must marry the Scottish princess, Margaret. In 1203 William lay sick of a tedious illness at Traquair.

He was much in the north of Scotland: his charters are dated from Forfar, Aberdeen, Nairn, Forres, Elgin, and Inverness, and in all these places there were castles in 1292. It is probable that most of them were founded by David I.: Inverness Castle is known to have existed in his reign; but at Aberdeen King William himself built a house. It stood on the site of the modern Guild Street, between the Green and the Dee, and William afterwards granted it as a monastery to the Red Friars. The "fair castle," which was visited by Edward I., and had some military importance, was erected by Alexander III. Forres Castle, which is not represented by the modern ruins, stood on an eminence to the west of the town, and was surrounded by the Mosset burn. There was a castle at Elgin in the reign of Malcolm the Maiden; and in it William the Lion granted a house, together with a net on the water of Spey, to Yothre MacGilhys and his heirs "for the service of one serjeant, and being in the Scottish army." Nairn Castle was situated near the modern High Street.

Under Alexander II. seven towers were added to the royal castle of Kildrummy in Perthshire, called the "snow tower"; and there were other castles of the king at Kinclevin and at Rutherglen. A clause in the king's marriage treaty provided for the free entry of the queen into the latter palace, which is said

KILDRUMMY CASTLE

From an old engraving.

to have stood near the intersection of King Street and Castle Street.

In the reign of Alexander III., king from 1249 to 1286, fuller details exist as to the movements of the king. In addition to the castles which have been mentioned, there were in 1292 those of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, Ayr, Tarbet, Dumbarton, Dundee, Kincardine, Cromarty, and Dingwall; and throughout the country there were many other halls and manors of the king. Alexander III. was often at Stirling, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh. At Jedburgh his second queen, Yoletta, kept a stud; and 900 perches of hedge and ditch were constructed in 1288 round the wood and meadows of the castle at a cost of £5, 16s. 6d. There was a royal castle at Crail in 1264; its rooms were repaired, and wages were paid to the keeper of the rabbit warrens. At Invercullen or Cullen, Cowie, and Durris there were houses of the king. The sheriff of Banff in 1266 had spent certain sums on the repair of the royal hall at Cullen, and on furnishing it with brewing utensils. At Cowie, on a rock which overlooks the sea, there are still ruins of a fortalice; and Castle Hill, on the banks of the Dee at Durris, probably marks the site of the ancient castle. In 1263 Alexander broke a journey at Kettins, and the cost is recorded in the next year of building there a new hall and mending the wardrobe. This may have occurred at Dores Castle, which stood on a hill to the south of Kettins village in Forfarshire. The king is known to have been at Aberdeen, Kintore, Forres, and Elgin. The remains of a fourteenth-century keep, the castle of Hallforest near Kintore, are still to be seen, and may occupy the site of his house. At Kincardine a new park was made; and in the castle of Inverness a *domus*

Scoticana and a wardrobe were constructed. On a wooded hill near the town there are ruins of Kincardine Palace. Wood appears to have been the material chiefly employed in all building operations.

In the summer of 1263, Alexander, with his queen Johanna of England, and probably with their infant daughter, held his court for twenty-nine weeks and two days at Forfar Castle. There is record of the provisioning of the royal household with 48 beeves, 25 swine from the neighbouring forest, 30 sheep from Barry, and 40 from the grange of Strathylif or Glenisla, 311 fowls, 60 stone of cheese, 17 chalders 1½ bolls of malt, 3 chalders 2 bolls of barley, 38 chalders 8 bolls of fodder, and other special supply of barley and fodder for the queen. From Cluny lake 700 eels were procured for the king and nine score for the queen. Such was the food of the inhabitants of the castle. It was heated by peat fires, for an allowance of barley was made to the man who carried peats into the tower.

The chief amusement of the court appears to have been hunting. The stables must have been well filled, for there is mention of twenty-three horses killed in the royal service. Other records are of payments to the king's falconer and groom, of the provision of food for a bitch and her puppies. Wages were received also by a gardener and a swineherd. Six and a half marks were supplied to Augustin the tailor that, in obedience to the king's precept, he might go from Forfar to the fair of Dundee to buy cloth and fur.

Those houses of kings which were strongholds had most of them a military history during the War of Independence and afterwards. Some which continued crown property were not again royal residences. The

border castles, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Berwick, proved to be a source of weakness rather than strength to the country in which they stood, for they generally were held by the English; and there are famous stories of sieges of them by the Scots. In 1314 Sir James Douglas caused his followers to conceal their armour beneath black frocks in such manner that they were mistaken at twilight for cattle, and were suffered to approach near to Roxburgh Castle. They climbed the walls and gained possession of the fortress, which afterwards was demolished by Bruce. But it was rebuilt; and returned to the tenure of England until in 1342 the exploit of Sir William Ramsay of Dalhousie restored it for a short time to the Scots. Its capture was vainly endeavoured by James I. in 1435; and James II. repeated the attempt in 1460, to be killed by one of his own guns. The siege was, however, brought to a successful end by his queen, Mary of Gueldres, and thereafter the castle was again demolished. Nevertheless Somerset was able in 1547 to restore the ruins to an extent which allowed them to be garrisoned.

Jedburgh Castle, of which no trace remains, was held continuously by the English from the battle of Neville's Cross until 1409, when the men of the middle class of Teviotdale (*mediocres Thevedaliae*) seized, plundered, and demolished it. It was, however, rebuilt, and in 1523 it was captured by Surrey and Dacre, and "soo suerly brent," according to information sent to Henry VIII., "that no garnisons ner none other shal be lodged there, unto the tyme it bee new buylded." That such new building took place does not appear. The fortunes of Berwick, which alternately belonged to one and the other of the countries which bordered on its site, were various: the castle was strengthened

by Edward I. and repaired by Robert the Bruce, and finally was ruined by the neglect of Queen Elizabeth.

Peebles Castle was dismantled by Robert I. That of Forres is said to have been burnt by the Scots in 1297. Inverness Castle fell during the wars; but was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, and had a military importance down to the Jacobite rising of 1715. Elgin Castle also was demolished in the War of Independence; its chapel, however, was still in use in the sixteenth century. Forfar was overthrown in 1308.

Kildrummy Castle provided a shelter for certain great ladies; and under the command of Nigel Bruce and the Earl of Athol it withstood a siege until in 1306 it was betrayed by an English sympathiser. Then the garrison were hanged, drawn, and quartered; Nigel and the Earl were executed, the one at Berwick and the other at London; and Lady Buchan and Marjorie Bruce were imprisoned in cages, at Berwick and at Roxburgh. The Queen and Lady Mar, who were also in the castle, were treated with less severity. Lady Mar is said to have been sent to a convent. The castle in 1338 was held for the young king, David II., by Lady Christian Bruce.

In this period several castles were alienated from the crown. Robert I. gave Dingwall to the Earl of Ross, and is said to have granted Hallforest to the Marischal, Sir Robert de Keith; Kildrummy came to be held by the Earls of Mar, and Cadzow by the Hamiltons; Clackmannan was granted by David II. to a relative of the family of Bruce; and Traquair passed to the Morays, who held it until the forfeiture of William de Moray in 1464. The constabulary of Nairn Castle became hereditary in the family of Cawdor. Kinclevin was granted by Robert II. to his illegitimate

son, John Stewart; but the estate eventually reverted to the crown.

King Robert I. in the peaceful remnant of his reign lived chiefly at Tarbert and at Cardross, and probably at Perth.

The ruins of Tarbert Castle are still to be seen on the shore of the creek called Loch Tarbert on the west side of Loch Fyne. They stand some sixty feet above the level of the sea. Bruce probably added the base-court of the castle, in which stood its greater part, and he built also within the structure a dwelling-house. Under the year 1326 there are records of the making of a hall, a chapel, a bakery, brewery and kitchen, a wine-cellar, a moat about the castle, a mill, mill-dam and kiln, and a goldsmith's shop. There are references to a visit to the castle of Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, and Lord James Douglas, for whose chambers litter was provided, and in honour of whom the hall was decorated with branches of birch. In 1328 Patrick the Fool journeyed from England to Tarbert.

The manor of Cardross, on the banks of the Clyde, was acquired by the king in 1326 in exchange for the lands of Old Montrose. The place of the castle is marked by Castle Hill. Here in his later years the great king occupied himself with the improvement of a dwelling-house, and of parks and gardens. He made a new chamber surrounded by a stone wall; glass-work was inserted in the windows; in 1328 the chamberlain accounted for ten shillings spent on verdigris and olive oil for the painting of the king's chamber. Great boards were used for the repair of the park, and wages were paid to a huntsman, a park-keeper, a girnal-man and a keeper of the manor, and a gardener. A house for falcons was repaired and enclosed by a hedge.

The foundation of Dunfermline Palace, as distinct from the tower of Malcolm Canmore, is also ascribed to Robert the Bruce. In the winter of 1303 Edward I. was in the abbey; and on leaving it he caused the buildings to be burnt and demolished. King Robert is said to have restored the monastery, and to have added the palace on its south-west side. There is in the eastern part of the existing ruins work which seems to belong to an earlier period, to the beginning of the thirteenth century; but the south front appears indeed to have been erected by the Bruce and his successors of the fourteenth century. At this palace in 1323 occurred the birth of the prince afterwards David II. In 1329 the queen gave a frontal to the altar of the abbey.

On the 9th of June 1329 the Bruce died at Cardross Castle. Froissart relates the tale of his death, how when he felt that it behoved him to die he summoned all his barons and charged them loyally to support his son David. Then he called to him his dear friend, the gentle knight, the Lord James of Douglas, and told him of a vow he once had made to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. To fulfil it in his lifetime had not been granted to him; but he now asked the Douglas to carry thither his heart. All who were present wept when they heard; but at last the Douglas spoke, and promised as a true knight right willingly to obey his king's behest. The story of the death of Douglas in a combat with the Saracens and of the bringing back to Scotland of Bruce's heart is well known.

At Perth there was a castle which was a residence of kings until it fell into disrepair, when the Blackfriars monastery took its place. Here was kept a lion, a pet of King Robert; and in the town was the dwelling-place of Master Mavinus, the royal physician.

Elizabeth, the queen of Robert the Bruce, died some six months before him at Cullen.

After the death of Robert, the eight year old king David II., with the queen he had married a year previously and his sisters Matilda and Margaret, still lived at Cardross. New gardens were constructed; a ditch was made around the park; the chambers of the king, the princesses, and the regent, the king's hall and chapel, the wardrobe and chapel of the queen, and the kitchen, larder, brewhouse, bakehouse, and wine-cellar, were repaired.

In November 1331 the king was crowned at Scone. On this occasion his sisters and his aunt, Lady Christian Bruce, appear to have occupied one chamber in Scone Palace. Curtains of canvas were provided for the chambers of the queen and of the regent; and a large stock of napery was bought, as well as towelling for baths.

David and his queen lived from 1334 until 1341 at the famous Château Gaillard in Normandy. On their return to their country the king, now of full age, travelled about Scotland, as was the habit of his race. He was at Kildrummy, Ayr, Scone, Inverkeithing, Cupar, Banff, Aberdeen, Perth, and Dundee. In 1343 he was with Queen Johanna at Dunfermline Palace. After his release from captivity in England in 1357 he made frequent visits to the English court, and these probably account in part for the lavish expenditure of his household, especially after his second marriage to Margaret Logie. That queen had her own officers, a chamberlain, a clerk of liverance, and a clerk of the wardrobe. There is mention in this reign of the pipers of the king.

The first Stewart king, Robert II., was like his descendants a lover of sport. On several occasions in

his reign sums were paid to the clerks of the household and of the wardrobe for the king's expenses while he hunted at Kyndrochyt. The ruins of this castle, which acquired from its later owners, the Earls of Mar, the name of Braemar, stand on a rock near Cluny burn. They are in a wild and mysterious country, in the circle of the Cairngorm Mountains. Provisions for King Robert were sent repeatedly to Bute, whence it is evident that he was often at Rothesay Castle, that thirteenth-century keep of the Stewarts of Scotland, of which the towers still command Rothesay Bay. There are records, too, of sojourns of Robert II. at Inverkeithing, Glenalmond, Forfar, Inverness, Perth, Methven, Cambuskenneth, Arnele, Glenconglas, Rutherglen, Cupar, St. Andrews, Glasgow, Scone, Cowie, Aberdeen, Strathbraan, and Montrose. Methven Castle was, like Rothesay, a possession of the Stewarts; and was granted by the king to his son Walter, Earl of Athol.

In June 1389 King Robert, who with all his magnates was holding his court at Dunfermline, received at that place an embassy of two French knights, and of Nicholas Dagworth and another Englishman, all of them come to treat for peace. They were made welcome, and they delivered long and eloquent orations with such success that the king conceded their demands. Wine, spices, and cloth were bought to make pleasant their reception; the king gave four horses to the Frenchmen, and to one of the Englishmen a horse worth £10.

The death of Robert II. occurred at another hereditary house of the Stewarts, Dundonald Castle in Ayrshire, on the 13th of May 1390, when at last peace had come to his country, and when only three Scottish castles, those of Berwick, Jedburgh, and Rox-

burgh, were still held by the English. Dundonald Castle, a conspicuous object on the summit of a steep and isolated hill, was one of the most important of fourteenth-century keeps.

Robert III. is heard of at Scone, Perth, Cowie, North Berwick, Dunfermline, Haddington, Dumbarton, Irvine, Rothesay, and Aberdeen. In October 1390 he was at Logierait in Athol; and in 1397-8 iron, boards, and salt were sent thither for his use. His castle of Logierait is said to have stood on the hill near that village where there is now a Celtic cross erected to the memory of the sixth Duke of Athol. Dunfermline Palace was the birthplace of James I.

According to Bower, Robert III., after he had heard of the capture of his son James by the English, died of a broken heart at Rothesay Castle; and the room in which his death is believed to have occurred is still pointed out in the ruins of the keep. Wyntoun, however, who, unlike Bower, rightly dates the death of the king on St. Ambrose's Day in 1406, relates that

> "Robert the Thrid, oure Lord the King,
> Made at Dundonald his endyng."

King James I., after his return from England and his coronation at Scone in 1424, was for some time at Dundee. In 1427 he travelled northwards with the queen to hold a parliament at Inverness; and tents, paniers, "rubbouris," canvas, and nineteen gowns for the keepers of the queen's horses were supplied for the journey. Otherwise there is proof that the royal household were at Dunfermline, Perth, and Haddington.

The magnificent castle of Doune, which is one of the best examples of the quadrangular architecture of the fifteenth century, was built by Murdoch, Duke

of Albany, and was, like Falkland, forfeited to the crown in 1424. It had superseded an earlier structure, the seat of the Earls of Menteith, which came into the possession of Robert, the great Duke of Albany, on his marriage to Margaret, Countess of Menteith. In 1431 it was the dwelling-place of James, Duke of Rothesay, the heir to the throne, then six months old, for whose use forty-eight pounds of almonds were sent to it.

James I. built a palace at Leith which served as a lodging for himself and as a storehouse in connection with his shipbuilding operations. There is evidence of the work of construction in 1428, and again in 1434 and 1435. In 1435 Robert Gray was master of the works of the barge and palace of Leith. This king modified the arrangements of the royal household. He took from the chamberlain a part of his functions to divide them among a comptroller, a steward of the king's house, a clerk of the spices, and a treasurer of the household; and money for provision for the court was received also by the keeper of the privy seal and secretary. Greater luxury was introduced into the palaces: we hear of the import from the Netherlands of a canopy and curtains and two pairs of sheets for the king's bed, a gold salt-cellar set with pearls, and tapestries wrought with the royal arms, as well as jewellery and articles of dress and military equipment. Giles, a tapestry-man of Bruges, received £8 for manufacturing cloth of arras for the Scottish king, and the royal cellars were replenished with Rhenish wine. From the Low Countries came also, to serve King James, first three and then four players, of whom Martin Vanantyne signed a receipt for money disbursed for their voyage; and in the ship called *Skippare Henry* William Wik brought

DOUNE CASTLE.

Drawn by H. Williams and engraved by L. Eginton.

their clothes. Presumably the Dutchmen performed in Latin. Their advent marks the beginning of that taste of the Scottish court for dramatic representation which was afterwards supplied from native sources.

In this reign, and in that of James II., wholesale forfeitures increased the number of houses which belonged to the king. Doune Castle was a frequent residence of James II. It was provisioned for the entertainment of the royal household in 1451–2 with forty-four marts, and with swine, calves and kids, at a total cost of £36, 17s. 1d.; and in 1454 with bread, ale, capons, and poultry. The prince was there from June to September 1457. A chaplain, a watchman, a porter, a park keeper, and a gardener, as well as a keeper of the castle, were in receipt of fees; and seeds of cabbages, scallions, and onions were supplied to the garden. The king, when he stayed at this castle, hunted in the forest of Glenfinlas. In 1459 a hunting lodge, which consisted of a hall and two chambers, was built in the forest. Doune was a dower-house of the queen, Mary of Gueldres.

Methven Castle became once more a possession of the crown on the attainder of the Earl of Athol. In 1444 or 1445 it would appear to have been seized by a supporter of Crichton, for it sustained a siege of the king. The king and queen were there in September 1450, probably for the purpose of hunting, for there is record of the mending of the stables and of provision for their horses. Like Doune, the castle formed part of the queen's dower.

The barony of Strathbraan had become a royal possession with the rest of the lands of the earldom of Fife; and Loch Fruchy, in Strathbraan, was another hunting resort of James II. There, as in Glenfinlas, a hunting lodge was made in 1459: it included a hall,

a chamber, a kitchen, and offices. In 1460 it was furnished with tables, seats, doors, and locks.

The thirteenth-century castle of Lochmaben in Dumfriesshire had been an hereditary possession of Robert the Bruce: it was his place of refuge in 1304. He bestowed it on Randolph, Earl of Moray; subsequently it passed into the tenure of the Douglases, and on the execution of Douglas in 1440, it accrued to the crown. The king held his court at Lochmaben before 1453, and again a few years later.

In 1457–8 James was at Rothesay Castle: there is mention of a keeper, a constable, a porter, and two watchmen, who held office in that house, as well as of the priest of the chapel of St. Bridget, of which the ruins can still be seen within the courtyard. At much the same time the king visited another ancient possession of the Stewarts, Dunoon Castle.

He was sometimes in the north of Scotland. At Inverness he caused extensive additions and repairs to the castle. At Elgin he stayed at the manse of Duff-house within the college of the cathedral, and a kitchen was added to the house for his use. But a fire occurred during his visit and all the royal plenishing was burnt. The king's lodging in Aberdeen borough was repaired in 1442–3. It may have been that house of one of his custumars in which he stayed five years later. At Ayr he was lodged in the house of Margaret Mure.

The castle of Ravenscraig stands on a rocky promontory on the coast of Fife between the towns of Kirkcaldy and Dysart. On three sides it is surrounded by the sea. The project of building it appears to have been conceived by James II., who five months before his death in 1460 acquired the lands of Dysart; and the work of construction was undertaken by his queen

in the very beginning of her widowhood. In 1461 fourteen great timbers called joists were carried from the woods on the banks of the Allan to Stirling; there they were cut and planed, and thence they were sent to Ravenscraig. Other accounts are of the transport thither, by means of horses and of boats, of stone and timber. Already in 1461 the building sufficed to lodge the queen's steward and certain others of her servants. No further payments for the work of construction were made after the death of Mary of Gueldres in 1463. From its situation it seems that this castle was designed to protect the entrance to the Firth of Forth; but it had considerable living rooms. The ruins, headed by a round tower, stand out into the wild sea of the Firth. The castle was granted by James III. to William St. Clair, fourth Earl of Orkney, in exchange for his earldom and the castle of Kirkwall.

The queen-mother in 1461 was hunting at Glenfinlas.

In this year or the next the separation of her household from that of the king took place. It was settled by act of parliament that "the king suld ay remane with the quene, but scho suld nocht intromit with his profettis, but allenarlie with his person."

In 1461 the court visited Dumfries. After his mother's death James was at Kirkcudbright in 1466–7; in the next year at Peebles, and in the north at Aberdeen, Banff, Fyvie, Elgin, and Inverness.

The castles of Doune and Methven in this reign again formed part of the queen's jointure. Bute, which included Rothesay Castle, and Dundonald were among lands inalienably annexed to the crown in 1469, as well as Kilmarnock, a late possession of the Boyds, which, however, was granted to the queen

for life. To Kilmarnock belonged the Dean Castle, which with the other Boyd estates reverted to that family in 1544.

In the summer which succeeded his marriage the king, with the queen, again made a northern progress, and spent about a month at Inverness.

The town of Leith was in 1475 the prey of so severe a visitation of the plague that it was abandoned by its inhabitants; and the Bishop of Orkney sent thither to the king's house forty-six marts which were suffered to perish from neglect.

The south wall of Dunfermline Palace, with its mullioned windows and the intervening buttresses, must have been built in the latter half of the fifteenth century. There is, however, no trace of the work in the Exchequer Rolls, and it cannot be determined whether it be that of James III. or James IV.

James IV. was, according to a chronicler, "gretumlie given to the bigging of palaceis quhilk wer Halyrudhous and Kintyer, the houssis of Edinbrugh, Striueling and Falkland." By Kintyre must be meant Bruce's castle of Tarbert, which was restored by the king in the course of an endeavour to bring order to the remote western part of his dominions.

The enterprise was characteristic of his vigour as a ruler, which led him to visit the most distant parts of the realm. He built a stronghold on Loch Kilkerran, and in the spring of 1498 he spent a few days both there and at Tarbert. In 1499 or 1500 he was at Rothesay and Tarbert.

The castle of Dingwall had reverted to the crown with the earldom of Ross in 1476. It was held by the king's brother as Duke of Ross; and at the duke's death it lapsed to the crown. Soon after his marriage the king visited Dingwall Castle. In 1507 the sum

of £20 was expended on the construction there of a great hall, and other payments were made for repairs. This castle was important because it commanded the roads to Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland, the way to the extreme north.

The earldom of Moray was by his marriage to Elizabeth Dunbar acquired by Archibald, brother to the eighth and ninth Earls of Douglas, and with other Douglas possessions was forfeited to the crown under James II. The ancient seat of the earls was Darnaway Castle, which stands in the midst of a forest on rising ground near the river Findhorn. There is an old couplet :

> "Darnaway green is bonnie to be seen
> In the midst of Morayland."

Of the early building all that remains is the hall, probably begun by Archibald Douglas, of which the fine oaken roof was made by James II. Payments for it are entered in the accounts from 1456 to 1458 ; in 1456–7 carpenters received wages for planing in the park of Darnaway three hundred boards.

There is no evidence that either James II. or James III. visited this house. In 1501 James IV. granted the castle and forest of Darnaway and certain other lands to Janet Kennedy, lady of Bothwell and daughter of John, Lord Kennedy, for the cordial love he bore her, to hold for life, or while she remained with James Stewart, son to her and the king, and without a husband or other man. She came to the castle from Stirling in 1501 ; but appears to have left it before 1505. Margaret Stewart, who was at Darnaway from 1501 to 1508, was probably the king's daughter by Janet. She was visited at Darnaway by her father ; and after her departure he was again at the castle, in December 1511.

Alexander, Earl of Huntly, when in 1509 he became hereditary keeper of Inverness Castle, incurred for himself and his heirs an obligation to build a hall, 100 feet long and 30 feet wide, as well as a kitchen and a chapel, on the Castle Hill. On several occasions King James was at Inverness.

He is heard of also at Elgin, Aberdeen, Dundee, Dumbarton, Lanark, Scone, Coupar Angus, Kinclevin, Dumfries, Canonbie and Lochmaben, Jedburgh and Melrose, and Newhaven. Dunbar has a poem—"The Wouing of the King quhen he was in Dunfermling"; and Perkin Warbeck was entertained at Methven and at Perth. Methven and Doune Castles were under James IV. again made dower-houses.

In this reign there is detailed information as to the households of the king and queen. Compared with those maintained by English nobles they were modest. It has been computed that the members of the household of James IV. numbered 82, and that they received in pay about £478, 13s. 4d. in a year; and that contemporaneously 156 servants were supported by Henry Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland, at an annual cost of £1000. The latter, however, included attendants of the earl's wife and brother, and the incumbents of his chapel.

Among the servants of James IV. were a master of the household, an usher, two keepers of the outer chamber, a butler, wardroper, carver and seven marshals, a keeper of the wine-cellar, two stewards, a clerk of accounts, a butcher, a furrier, a tailor, a keeper of spices, a barber, a gatekeeper, a lawyer, an armourer, a chief cook, five kitchen boys and five turnspits, a keeper of the silver plate, and a keeper of the tin vessels. There were also heralds and pursuivants and a small guard. The separate house-

DUMBARTON CASTLE IN 1754.

From an engraving by P. Sandby in the British Museum.

hold of the queen included doorkeepers of the inner and outer doors, a butler, a steward, a carver, a keeper of the napery, two cooks and two grooms of the kitchen, as well as women servants. James Dog, her keeper of the wardrobe, is apostrophised in one of Dunbar's poems:—

> "The wardraipper of Wenus boure,
> To giff a doublet he is als doure,
> As it war off ane futt syd frog:
> Madame, ze heff a dangerouss Dog."

Such were some of the train who rode with the king and queen from place to place throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. None of them received a salary of more than £20 a year; yet some whose posts would appear least dignified were persons of gentle birth. There went with them great men of the land, foreign guests, churchmen, play-actors and musicians, writers, craftsmen, scientists, hangers-on of all kinds, falconers and huntsmen, dogs and horses with their keepers, and much unwieldy baggage. Some idea of the habits of the company when they were stationary may be gathered from a rhymed exhortation, written in the middle of the sixteenth century, and apparently addressed to ladies of the court:—

> "At X. see that ye dyne;
> Ye schaip yow for to soup at VI.,
> And in your bed ye pass at IX.
> Se that ye lif into this lyne
> Giff ye will weile esposit be:
> Than sall the masteris of medicyne
> Get litill gude."

James V. travelled much about Scotland, especially in the Lowlands, but of all the lesser royal houses, there is proof only of his residence at Dunfermline.

When he was at Leith he stayed in the inn of a certain David Falconer. It is likely, therefore, that the palace of James I. had been abandoned, and that it was not the dwelling-place of Mary of Guise when she lived at Leith in 1560.

Of the castles and palaces which had served the Stewart kings as residences, the less important were alienated from the crown, either actually, or by the circumstance that they had hereditary keepers, who came in practice to be their owners after they had ceased to be visited by sovereigns.

The hereditary constabulary of Rothesay Castle had been granted by James III. to the representative of the Stewarts of Bute, the descendants of John Stewart, natural son of Robert II.; and the office has continued with this family, that of the marquesses of Bute. The castle was burnt by the Earl of Argyll in 1685. The fosse around it was cleared, and the wooden way of approach restored by the late Lord Bute.

In 1472 James III. had conferred on Colin, Earl of Argyll, the hereditary wardenship of Dunoon Castle, with power to appoint constables, janitors of the prisons, keepers, and watchmen. He must render at the castle the yearly rent of one red rose. This house came to be the residence of the earls and marquesses of Argyll until the latter half of the seventeenth century, when it was allowed to become a ruin.

In a charter to the Earl of Argyll, made in 1525, occurs a grant of the hereditary "custody of the Castle of Tarbert when it shall be built." Probably, therefore, the works undertaken by James IV. had never been completed; and it would appear that no attempt was made to continue them, but that the castle was

allowed to become a ruin. In charters received by the earls in 1541, and subsequently until 1610, they received the custody of the castle "when it shall happen to be built." Thereafter references to Tarbert Castle disappear from the records.

The other castle chiefly associated with the Bruce, that of Cardross, is lost to history at an earlier date. In 1477 a life-grant of its keepership was made by James III., but there is no evidence that it was ever visited by fifteenth-century kings. Probably it was suffered in this period to fall into decay.

The custody of Doune Castle was given by James V. in 1528, with the consent of the queen mother whose house it was, to be held in tail by "James Stewart, brother german of Andrew Lord Avondale," the great-grandson of its builder, Duke Murdoch. The grandson of this James became Lord Doune in 1581, and obtained at the same time full possession of the castle. He was the ancestor of the present owner, the Earl of Moray, and it is with his family that Doune Castle is chiefly associated. In the ballad of the death of the "bonnie earl" there is the stanza—

> "Oh lang, lang will his lady
> Look ower the Castle Doun
> Ere she see the Earl o' Moray
> Come riding through the toun."

It was garrisoned in the Jacobite interest in 1745, and was the prison of certain Hanoverian soldiers, among them Home, the author of "Douglas." The castle has long been abandoned as a residence, but the ruins are well preserved.

It was in the same ownership as Darnaway Castle, for that house became again an appanage of the

earldom of Moray. As such it had probably been vested in David, the son of James II., on whom the title was conferred, and who died in childhood. In 1501 James IV. once more separated this dignity from the crown in favour of James Stewart, his son by Janet Kennedy who that year had taken up her abode at Darnaway. She was probably succeeded by her son in her tenure of the castle, and he died in it as its holder in 1544. The house passed with the title to later earls, and is owned by the present Lord Moray. The modern part of the building was erected in 1810.

The lands of Dundonald, with the woods, the mill, and the fortalice, were demised at fee-farm in 1526, for an annual rent of £30, to William son of Hugh Wallace of Cragy. This grant was afterwards cancelled in favour of another to Robert Boyd, late of Kilmarnock, who held for a yearly rent of £22; but he in 1545 had resigned in favour of John Wallace, to whom in that year a grant in tail male of the property, burdened with the rent of £22, was made. In 1597 the rent due was £32; and such was its amount when in 1638 his right in the castle and surrounding land was acquired from James Wallace by Sir William Cochrane of Cowdon. Sir William was created Lord Cochrane of Dundonald in 1647, and Earl of Dundonald after the Restoration. The bearer of these titles retains the ruined castle, the hill on which it stands, and five roods of adjoining land.

In 1528 the queen mother, Margaret Tudor, obtained from James V. a grant of the barony of Methven in favour of her third husband, Henry Stewart; and he acquired with the title the lordship and castle of Methven. Queen Margaret died at the castle in 1540. Henry, third Lord Methven and

grandson to the first lord, left no heirs; and his estates were conferred in 1584 on Ludovic, Duke of Lennox. In 1664 Charles, the last duke, sold the castle to Patrick Smythe of Braco, the ancestor of the present owner. The existing house dates from the seventeenth century.

In 1584 Andrew Keith, an illegitimate son of Robert Keith, abbot of Deer, and a grandson of William, Lord Keith, was created Baron Dingwall; and at the same time he obtained a grant of the castle of Dingwall with its houses and prisons, apparently in full possession. In 1587, after the general revocation of grants made during the minority of James VI., not a complete ownership but the hereditary custody and constabulary of the castle were conferred on Lord Dingwall; and they were ratified to him and his assigns in 1591. Two years later he was suffered to grant the right of succession to Sir William Keith of Delny and his heirs male; but both Andrew and William appear to have died without heirs male before 1606. The barony, together with the constabulary and keepership of the castle, were sold by the crown to James, Lord Balmerinoch, in 1608; and transferred by him to Sir Richard Preston of Halltree. The latter was succeeded in 1628 by his daughter Elizabeth, Baroness Dingwall, who married James Butler, Lord Thurles, the eventual holder of the titles of Earl of Ossory and Ormond and Duke of Ormond. Elizabeth died in 1684 and left as heir a grandson, James, Lord Butler of Moore Park, who became Duke of Ormond on the death of his grandfather in 1688. He was attainted after the insurrection of 1715, and his honours and offices were forfeited to the crown.

Subsequently Dingwall Castle was acquired by

William Munro of Ardullie. His technical position was presumably that of constable and keeper. The castle was by the middle of the eighteenth century a complete ruin, of which the stones were used by the townspeople: it is said that they served to build the municipal buildings. Through a daughter of William Munro the rights which he had held in the castle passed, towards the end of the century, to her son, the Rev. Colin Mackenzie, minister of Fodderty. He assigned the ruins and lands, valued at £300, in trust, to endow a project, which has never been realised, for the employment of the working people of Dingwall.

Early in the nineteenth century Captain Donald Maclennan, previously commander of an armed merchantman in the Napoleonic wars, acquired part of the site and built the existing castellated mansion.

Lochmaben Castle, while in the sixteenth century it ceased to be a dwelling-place of kings, was still a royal garrison. It was dismantled by Lord Scrope in 1543. In 1588 it was seized by Lord Maxwell, and held against a siege conducted by James VI. in person; but after a bombardment which lasted two days, and in which artillery borrowed from the English was utilised, the garrison capitulated. In the seventeenth century, when border fortresses had lost their use, the castle was suffered to become a ruin. The hereditary keeper is Mr. Hope Johnstone.

Queen Mary, when she was not in one of the great palaces of her kingdom, lived in the houses of subjects. A castle greatly associated with her is that of Craigmillar, two miles distant from Edinburgh, to which she went often to find purer air and greater quiet and freedom than were to be had at Holyrood. This castle, however, was never a crown possession; it was

CRAIG-MILLAR CASTLE.

Drawn by H. Williams and engraved by L. Eginton.

held from the fourteenth century until the seventeenth by that family of Preston who at one time were constables of Dingwall. In 1661 it was acquired by Sir John Gilmour, whose descendant is the present owner.

Craigmillar has kingly associations earlier than Mary's reign. When in 1479 James III. caused the arrest of his brothers, the elder, Albany, was warded in Edinburgh Castle; and Mar, the younger, at Craigmillar. There Mar was attacked by sickness, and he was removed to the Canongate in order that he might have the care of the king's physician. He died; and there were rumours, to which it is unnecessary to attach credit, that he had been poisoned at Craigmillar Castle. In 1517, when Edinburgh was visited by the plague, the little king, James V., was removed from danger of infection to Craigmillar; and he was there again on later occasions. The English invaders sacked and burnt the castle in 1544.

The memory of Mary is, however, that which has stayed most persistently in this house. The hamlet below the castle walls is said to have acquired its name, Little France, from her French retinue who were quartered in it. A plane tree at Craigmillar, the greatest in the Lothians, is called "Queen Mary's tree" because she is believed to have planted it. Her bedcloset is still shown in the ruins of the castle.

At a critical moment in her history Mary came to Craigmillar. Probably on the 24th of November 1566, after a progress through the southern parts of her dominions, she arrived at the castle; and she remained there through the early part of December. It was the end of the year in which Riccio had been murdered. "The Queen," wrote the French ambassador to the Archbishop of Glasgow, ". . . is in

the hands of the physicians, and I do assure you is not at all well, and do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in grief and sorrow. Nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats these words, 'I could wish to be dead.'"

Among the many indictments made against Mary is one that on this occasion she was party to a plot laid at the castle for the murder of her husband, that she approved a bond for that purpose subscribed by Huntly, Argyll, Lethington, and Sir James Balfour. The statement rests only on confessions made subsequently to Darnley's death. Another tale is that Murray, Lethington, Argyll, Huntly, and Bothwell suggested to Mary at Craigmillar that she should consent to a divorce which should not prejudice her son's legitimacy. Mary is reported not to have refused definitely, to have said, "I will that ye do nothing whereby any spot may be laid to my honour and conscience, and therefore I pray you rather let the matter be as it is, abiding till God of His goodness put remedy thereto; lest ye, believing to do me service, may possibly turn to my hurt and displeasure;" to which Lethington replied, "Let us guide the matter amongst us, and your Grace shall see nothing but good, and approved by parliament."

Yet another allegation which connects this house with the tragedy of Darnley is that it was intended at first that his death should take place there instead of at Kirk o' Field.

The ruins of the castle stand on a hill; and in contrast to the encroaching city they have a grave and solitary effect. There still are near them a few ancient trees. The castle has consisted of a fourteenth-century keep, and of additional buildings against the wall of enceinte, of which the most important were

probably erected after the disaster of 1544. Thus in Mary's time the house must have been well adapted to the needs of the period. It was, moreover, planned on a great scale and contained many rooms.

Except the palaces of which separate accounts are given, Dunfermline is that which retained longest its ancient character. It was a frequent residence of James VI. In May 1590, the year of his marriage, £400 was paid "by his Majesty's precept for reparation of the house at Dunfermline befoir the Queenis Majesties passing thereto"; and on the 17th of July "the Queene went over to Dunfermline, convoyed with a number of noble men and weomen." Privy councils were held at this palace in August and September 1596; and on the 19th of August in that year it was the birthplace of the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Bohemia and ancestress of the Hanoverian kings. In 1600, on the 19th of November, the king's second son, Charles, who was to be Charles I., was born at Dunfermline; and in 1602, "upon Moonday the 18th of Januar the Queene was delivered of her thrid sonne in Dunfermline." He was named Robert, but died within a year. In March, when Edinburgh was suffering from a visitation of the plague, the council, "cairfull that all ordinar and lauchfull meanis be usit quhilkis, at Godis plesour, may preserve the toun of Dunfermling, being the ordinarie place of the residence of the Quene, his Hienes derrest spous, and of their Majesties bairnis, fra the said infection," took means to isolate the place. Under pain of death the boatmen at Queensferry were forbidden to carry travellers from the south to the north coast of the Firth, except the king's councillors and such servants of the royal household as could prove that they were "voyd and cleare of all

suspicioun of the said plague." The provost and bailies of the borough were ordered, while the epidemic continued, to suffer no families to resettle within the town, nor to receive into it any persons who came from places suspected of infection. From 1599 to 1603 councils were again frequently held at Dunfermline. In the latter year Robert Carey went to the palace to see Prince Charles and "found him a very weak child."

The "ordinarie place of the residence" of Anne of Denmark was not the older palace but a building known as "the Queen's House," which communicated with it on the north-east by a gallery, and which would appear to have been erected for her use. It stood between the palace and the abbey church; and in the engraving in Sibbald's *Theatrum Scotiae* its gables can be seen behind the palace roof.

At Dunfermline, as at those places where were more important houses of the crown, orders were issued on several occasions between 1603 and 1617 for the preservation of game in the vicinity of the palace, in view of expected visits of the king. That repairs were undertaken in preparation for the long deferred royal progress through Scotland, which at last took place in 1617, is proved by an order to certain two masons of Culross either to go to Holyrood, there to render service, or within twenty-four hours "to address themselves with their worklooms to his Majesty's work at Dunfermline." There is a tradition that James VI. was at the palace in 1617, but it is unsupported by the records.

Subsequently at intervals, when James or Charles I. had announced intended visits, proclamations for the preservation of game in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline were made as before from the market-cross

Abbey and Palace of Dunfermline in 1755.

From an old engraving.

of the borough. In 1624 Sir Henry Wardlaw and the master of works received warrant "to visite the defectis in the place of Dunfermlyne, and to cause mend the same"; and this house was among those on which in 1629 a commission was ordered to report.

Charles I., before he came to Scotland in 1633, gave warning that Dunfermline was one of the towns which he would honour with his presence; and as in Edinburgh and other places, proclamations from the market-cross ordered the reservation of lodgings for his train. As elsewhere, the borough magistrates were instructed to supply, during his visit, assistants to his pastrycooks and bakers; and the inhabitants of neighbouring parishes were directed to convey his baggage. His visit was to have been made on the road from Stirling to Falkland; and Lord Rothes, sheriff of Fife, and Lord Lindsay, bailie of the regality, collected the gentry of Fife and their friends, to the number of two thousand horsemen, and rode to receive him. It is related, however, that the king avoided the company by taking a byroad, and never fulfilled his promise of going to Dunfermline.

After Charles II. had made his strange alliance with the Covenanters, on the 2nd of August 1650, he withdrew from the Scottish army then engaged in a task not congenial to him, that of "purging" their ranks, and went to Dunfermline Palace. Here he was desired to sign a declaration that he was "deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God, because of his father's opposition to the work of God, and to the Solemn League and Covenant, and for the idolatry of his mother." He declined such baseness; and the ministers turned against him all their force of invective. On the 9th, Lothian, Waristoun, James Guthrie, and others, sent by the committee of the

army and kirk, arrived to persuade him. He was out hunting; and when he returned he "denied absolutely to declare anything that might rub upon his father." But four days later Argyll, Lothian, Lorne, and others prevailed upon him to subscribe the document, "only he entreated them to be as sparing of his father's name and memory as necessarily could be." In April and in June of the following year Charles was again at Dunfermline.

Cromwell was in the town when in the summer of 1651 he overran Fife, after his victory at Inverkeithing; but there is nothing to show whether he visited the palace.

It does not appear that the inspections of the building made in 1624 and 1629 had resulted in the repair of defects; and much deterioration had followed on neglect. In the plates published in the end of the seventeenth century, in Sir Robert Sibbald's *Theatrum Scotiae*, the palace has still a habitable appearance; but in 1708, the north gable wall, part of the front wall, and most of the roof fell to the ground. Therefore when in 1715 a band of Highlanders in arms for James Edward entered the town, they took shelter not in the ruined palace but in the adjacent Queen's House.

Dunfermline was visited by Daniel Defoe, who found there "the full perfection of decay—its decayed monastery, palace, and town, the natural consequence of the decay of the palace." In the middle of the eighteenth century the Queen's House was used as a place in which to hold cock-fights; and in 1797 it had become so ruinous that it was demolished. There has been no attempt to restore the palace. Mr. Hunt of Pittencrieff in 1812 repaired the ruins, and cleared away an accumulation of rubbish. He be-

lieved that the considerable expense he thus incurred gave him a right of ownership, and protracted litigation ensued. In 1871 his claim was defeated in the House of Lords; and the crown formally took possession of the ruined palace. It commands the beautiful and romantic glen of Pittencrieff, in which the Tower burn runs between wooded banks.

In modern times, the only house in Scotland, other than Balmoral, which can be said to have been raised to the dignity of a royal palace is Abergeldie Castle on Deeside. It stands on the site of an ancient keep of the Gordons; it is still owned by the representative of that family, Mr. Reginald Gordon; but in 1848 a lease of it was acquired by the Prince Consort, and has been followed by subsequent leases; and the house has become the Highland residence of the Prince of Wales. Between 1850 and 1861 the Duchess of Kent spent in it several autumns; and in 1879, after the death of the Prince Imperial, the Empress Eugénie passed the month of October at Abergeldie.

The most interesting and ancient part of the castle is the high and rectangular tower, with a crow-stepped gable roof, which has a somewhat elaborate angle turret. It forms the nucleus of the whole structure, and is a "good and picturesque example of a sixteenth-century manor-house in Aberdeenshire." Considerable alterations and additions of a later date have been made. The castle stands on the south bank of the Dee, and from the north side it was formerly reached by a "rope and cradle" bridge, a cradle or basket which carried a passenger and which ran along a rope thrown across the river. This contrivance has been replaced by an iron suspension bridge.

Behind Abergeldie rises Craig-na-Ban; and to the

north of it beyond the river is Geallaig. Its lands are beautifully planted, especially with birches. These are the trees the glory of which Burns is accused of having transferred to Aberfeldy, for at that place it is certain that there were in 1803 no more birches than there are at present.

"The braes ascend like lofty wa's,
The foaming stream deep roaring fa's,
O'erhung wi' fragrant spreading shaws,
The birks of Aberfeldy.
The hoary cliffs are crowned wi' flowers,
White o'er the linn the burnie pours,
And, rising, meets wi' misty showers
The birks of Aberfeldy."

Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood Palace

IT is impossible to assign to any date the foundation of Edinburgh Castle. Legends concerning it meet its history; and there is a period at which the two are so entangled that they cannot be distinguished. The castle is prior to the city: it must have stood as now on its grey beetling rock when the Lothians around it were a wild waste country. It was known, when Edinburgh was not, as the Maidens' Castle; and the name has caused a tradition that it was the place of safety to which Scottish princesses were sent when their fathers were engaged in war. This story must be abandoned. Maidens' Castle is probably a corruption of an earlier Celtic name, perhaps Maidun or Maghdun, "the fort of the plain," and the false etymology may have arisen with the chroniclers who Latinised it as *Castrum Puellarum*.

The earliest references to the castle discover it in the possession of the English. Boece relates that after Kenneth MacAlpin had conquered the Picts their queen fled to the English, and that she went first

> "To ane castell biggit with stane and lime,
> The Madyn Castell callit wes that time."

It is unlikely, however, that a Scottish castle of this period was thus constructed. A well-authenticated

fact is that King Indulf, who reigned from 954 to 962, occupied Dunedin or Edinburgh; and henceforth the castle was generally held by the Scots.

It acquired importance as the centre of government shifted to the lands south of the Forth, and it became not a border but a metropolitan fortress. Malcolm Canmore probably inhabited it frequently; and the chapel of St. Margaret was, according to tradition supported by structural evidence, founded by his queen Margaret. At the time of the death of Malcolm and of Edward his eldest son, in 1093, Margaret lay at the castle, sick unto death. According to the legend, she had supernatural knowledge of the disaster which had overtaken her husband before she had news of it; at all events her son Edgar, on the fourth day after his father had been slain, brought her the tidings. Almost immediately she received the extreme unction, and on the same day she died. The castle was besieged by Donald Bain before her death was generally known; but Ethelred and others of her sons, under cover of a mist, perhaps the familiar white haar of Edinburgh, carried her body secretly through a western postern and down the rock, and thence to Dumfermline.

Under Margaret's son, the pious Edgar, Edinburgh Castle became more important as a residence of kings. It was the place of Edgar's death in 1107. David I., between 1143 and 1147, granted to the monks of Holyrood the church of the castle, presumably St. Margaret's chapel; as well as the land that lay under the castle between a spring near the corner of his garden beside the road to St. Cuthbert's church, and a craig under the castle towards the east; and moreover, hides of rams, ewes, and lambs in his flock of the castle which should die. This grant was confirmed by

Photo. by Spooner.

EDINBURGH CASTLE.

William the Lion. Between 1139 and 1150 King David held two assemblies of his barons at the Maidens' Castle, and his son Henry was present at least at the earlier of them. In 1174 William the Lion, when a prisoner at Falaise in Normandy, delivered this and other fortresses to the English king, as a pledge for the performance of the treaty on which his release was conditional. The English keeper was Alan Fitz Rubald or Alan of Richmond, who received from his government, in 1175, £26, 13s. 4d. for purposes of fortification; and who was apparently remunerated at the rate of one hundred marks a year. In 1177 Vivian the cardinal, on his return from Ireland, convoked a council of Scottish prelates to the Maidens' Castle; and in 1180 Alexander, the papal nuncio, summoned thither bishops, abbots, and other religious men, and caused the consecration of John to the see of St. Andrews by Matthew, Bishop of Aberdeen. The castle returned to the possession of King William between 1186 and 1189. Alexander II. was there in 1231 and in 1241. It was in 1235 the prison of Thomas the Bastard of Galloway, who when destitute of counsel and help had been obliged to seek the king's peace.

Alexander III., a ten-year-old king, brought his queen Margaret, the daughter of Henry III., from York to Edinburgh Castle in 1251. In 1254 Henry requested him to call to the castle a council of prelates and magnates in order to give audience to certain envoys from Gascony.

The little queen Margaret did not like her northern home, and the circumstance became a pretext for English interference in the politics of Scotland. In 1255 the queen of England sent to visit her daughter and son-in-law a physician named Reginald

of Bath. He was kindly received at the Maidens' Castle, but observed that the queen was pale and perturbed. In a more private interview he prevailed upon her to give him her confidence; and thereafter he made such fierce accusations against the great men of the kingdom and the guardians of the king and queen that, when he died in Scotland soon afterwards, it was reported that he had been poisoned. When at the point of death he wrote to the queen of England that her daughter was unfaithfully and inhumanly treated amid unworthy Scots. The faction which held power in Scotland was that of the Menteiths, who were opposed by the Durwards. Henry III., in 1255, sent Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and John Mansel, to support the latter; and himself marched northwards. In the disguise of humble members of the household of Robert de Ros, Gloucester and Mansel obtained an entrance into the castle; and they were gradually followed by Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, Alan Durward, and a numerous company. The members of the royal household were then expelled, a garrison was established, and the king and queen were made captive. Thus the supremacy of Durward's party, subject to English influence, was secured. The meeting of the queen with her countrymen, Gloucester and Mansel, is described by Matthew Paris. Margaret made bitter complaints. She had been, she said, indecently guarded or rather imprisoned in this castle, a sad and solitary place, so near the sea as to be utterly destitute of healthy air and verdure. She might not travel about her kingdom, nor have a special household, nor even maidens of her chamber or bedchamber. The king had been denied free access to her, and she had lost the joy of their mutual embraces. Her private complaints had been ignored. She spoke amid sobs

and tears; and the earl and Lord John, "skilled and discreet men," "softened" and "consoled her civilly," and "modestly" promised the redress of all excesses.

After the death of Margaret, Alexander, in 1285, married Yoletta, the daughter of the comte de Dru. She was in Kinghorn on the 19th of March 1286, when the king held a council at the Maidens' Castle. "On that day," says the chronicler of Lanercost, "there howled a tempest so grave that it seemed to me and to others to uncover a fierce countenance against the north winds, the rain and the snow." After the council, which was largely attended, the king, "with serene brow," sat at meat with his lords; and he sent a merry esquire, who reclined at the table, with a gift of fresh fish to a certain baron of the company. He told this man in jest, that it was the Judgment Day; and the baron replied that they would meet it with filled bellies. When the long meal had ended dusk was falling, but neither the wild weather nor the representations of his lords could prevent the king from setting out to join his bride. He hurried to Queensferry; and before he reached Kinghorn he was killed by a fall from his horse, which in the darkness stumbled over a cliff.

The long struggle with England followed. In 1291 the castle was in the tenure of the English, and in the custody of Ralph Basset. Its muniments were, in accordance with a precept of Edward I., carried to Berwick. Balliol in 1295 agreed to deliver it and other Lowland fortresses to the Bishop of Carlisle, in pledge; but his subjects refused to fulfil his undertaking, and therefore, in 1296, the castle was besieged by King Edward. There is a story told in the chronicle of Lanercost that the English king entrusted certain despatches to his swiftest messenger,

whose name of Lewyn suggests that he was Welsh, and who consumed the money provided for his journey at a tavern. Then, because he wished to recoup himself by a betrayal, he caused the Scots to draw him over the castle wall by a rope. The constable, however, refused to listen to his information; and, mounted on the wall, shouted to those below to make known to their king the news of the traitor's arrival. Eventually Lewyn was lowered on his rope to the besiegers, to be judged, drawn, and hanged. King Edward is said, when he heard of the constable's action, to have withdrawn the fire of his artillery from the besieged; and the chronicler thus accounts for the length of time taken to reduce the castle. It fell after a fortnight's siege, when Edward had already moved northwards. The jewels and relics found in it were sent to England in six coffers, and deposited in the wardrobe at Westminster. They included a golden sceptre which had belonged to John Balliol, and a golden crown, with an apple of silver gilt and a rose of gold, once of the Scottish kings. Subsequently the castle was occupied by an English garrison; it was the only fortress which the Scots did not recover in 1298. In March 1314 Randolph, Earl of Moray, contrived with a small company to scale the rock on its northern side, and then to climb over the wall by means of ladders, while the defenders were engaged by a strong attack on the south gate. The castle was thereafter levelled by King Robert, in accordance with his policy.

Robert seems to have undertaken the repair of St. Margaret's chapel; for in 1329 £20 had been spent on its fabric. In 1328 and afterwards, probably till 1334, the sheriff of Edinburgh was responsible for the wardenship of the castle. In the

latter year it was surrendered by Edward Balliol, with all Scotland south of the Forth, to Edward III. A body of foreign auxiliaries under the Duke of Namur were, in 1335, intercepted on their way to join the English army by the Earls of March and Mar and William Douglas, knight of Liddesdale, on Boroughmuir, and driven through the narrow lanes of Edinburgh to the ruins of the dismantled fortress, where they surrendered. Thereafter it is evident that the castle was rebuilt by the English king. In the late autumn of 1337, when Edward had returned to England, the Scots attempted its recovery; but the siege was raised by an army of Westmoreland and Cumberland under the Bishop of Carlisle and Ralph de Dacre, lord of Gillesland, and by the forces of Balliol.

Edinburgh Castle was captured at last by a strategy of the knight of Liddesdale. He associated himself with Walter Curry, the owner of a ship at Dundee, and with William Bullok, William Fraser, and Joachim of Kynbuk. Walter's ship was manned with two hundred men and brought to Inchkeith, and Walter went to the castle with a gift of wine and biscuits for the captain. He represented that he was a merchant of Elie who dealt in corn, wine, and strong ale, and he obtained leave to return on the morrow in order to sell his wares. On the next morning Douglas and his company placed themselves in ambush near the gate, and Walter with twelve others went up to the castle. The men wore armour beneath rude frocks; and they, as well as two horses which they brought with them, were laden with creels and vessels that held the supposed merchandise. The porter followed his instructions and opened the great gate to the traders, whereupon one of them rushed at him and overpowered him; he and his assistants

were slain, and the portcullis and the turnpike were stopped by the creels and jugs and by staffs from being closed. Then Walter blew a horn and the defenders rushed to the gate, to find "stout porters," who engaged them in fight. The noise brought Douglas and his men from their hiding-place; and in a bitter conflict the English were killed, wounded, trampled under foot, strangled, flung over the castle walls, and taken prisoners. Some escaped to carry the news into the town. Douglas established his brother, William the Elder of Douglas, as warden. For their part in the enterprise £100 was, in 1342, awarded to Walter Curry and William Fairlie.

After this date the castle was in the keeping of great men. Sir David Lindsay, "that was true, of steadfast fay . . . na ryot, no na strife made he," was warden in 1348, and entertained his nephew, William of Douglas, nephew also to the Good Lord James and son to Sir Archibald, who came to "ease him with solace and play." The wardenship was distinct from the office of constable.

David II. in the latter part of his reign repaired the castle, and it became one of the chief strongholds of the country, and was again, as it does not seem to have been since the beginning of the wars, a principal residence of kings. The spring within it had been lost to knowledge during the demolition. In 1361 and 1362 payment was made for the construction of a well at the existing spring beside the base of the rock on its north side. Payments for the making of the tower of the well give the origin of the fabric, of which the ruins are still known as Wellhouse Tower, and which must have been connected with the well by a passage. In 1364 the constable received 58s. for erecting a paling for a duel, and this probably indicates

that the lists at the foot of the castle rock were already in existence. Payment for a sink and a great vat in the castle was made in 1368, and from that year until 1375 there are frequent entries in the Exchequer Rolls with regard to the construction of a "new tower"; that lofty and massive building near the Half Moon battery, which was known as Davy's Tower, and destroyed in the siege of 1573. King David in 1368 sent the chamberlain and certain others to see what the castle lacked in munition and provisions, and considerable sums were expended on fortifying and victualling it.

Before 1366 a chapel of St. Mary had been built in the castle. Its priest received £10 out of the yearly farm of Edinburgh until 1390, when the new chapel appears to have superseded that of St. Margaret. At that date Robert II. granted for the weal of the souls of himself, Euphemia his queen, the kings Robert and David Bruce, and all kings his ancestors and successors, £8 yearly out of the great custom of Edinburgh to the priest who celebrated perpetually in St. Margaret's chapel. This endowment was confirmed in the same year by Robert III., and due payment accordingly was made to the priest who had hitherto ministered in the chapel of St. Margaret, and who should for the future serve that of St. Mary. Henceforth payments, when allotted specifically, were to the chaplain of St. Mary until 1405 and in 1475, except in 1393, 1395, and 1396. At the latter dates and after 1405, except in 1475, they were made to the priest of St. Margaret's chapel. It is probable that one priest served two chapels. That of St. Mary was afterwards known as the garrison church.

The building works of King David were continued by Robert II. In 1379 iron had been supplied for the

gate of the castle, and certain masons were paid for the completion of kennels; in 1380 an iron door and a wall next to it had been erected; in 1381 divers workmen had, after much labour, discovered the ancient and lost well in the castle, and had cleaned and repaired it; in 1382 a new house had been built after the manner of a vault, and next the great tower, for a kitchen and other offices. The gate and bridge were repaired, and pavement was laid down near them. Probably for the sake of security, some private individuals and others had dwellings within the castle. Thus in 1385 Robert II. granted to the abbot of Holyrood that he might choose any piece of land, eighty feet square, within the castle and outside the king's manor, and build on it a sufficient house and necessary offices, in which he and the canons might reside; and he gave also the right of freely entering and leaving the castle. The abbot must render to the king a silver penny every Whitsunday. In 1385 John, Earl of Carrick, afterwards Robert III., bestowed the like privilege of ingress and egress on such burgesses of Edinburgh as had or should have dwellings in the castle.

Robert III. appears to have been often at Edinburgh Castle. In 1400 it was defended by the Duke of Rothesay when Henry IV. besieged it in person. The English army was well provisioned, even with such luxuries as lampreys and porpoises, but after three days the siege was raised.

James I. was at the castle in April 1434, and caused there the arrest of Walter Stewart, eldest son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, and late regent. This king was a builder of the castle. In this year money was disbursed for walls, and timber for the fabric and for the great chamber thereof. This chamber was the

parliament hall on the south side of the palace yard. Expenses for repairs and for the making of a new kitchen and staircase had been incurred while James was a prisoner in England. In 1434 there is mention of the king's wardrobe in the castle, and in the next year a kitchen garden within the precincts was completed.

The building of the hall was probably synchronous with that of the palace on the east side of the court-yard, of the private apartments of kings, for these also date from the fifteenth century. It would seem that before they abandoned Edinburgh Castle for Holyrood the kings attempted to adapt it to the needs of the time. The work of James I. was completed by his son, who roofed the great hall with lead, and provided linen cloths for its windows. Robert Lang, chaplain, had charge in 1459 of the king's chambers in the castle and all property left in them.

After the death of James I. the castle figured in the incidents of the strange competition between the warden, William Crichton, and Alexander Livingstone, for the custody of the person of the young king. He came thither with his mother for safety immediately after his father's murder at Perth in 1437. In 1438 a feather mattress and pillow were delivered at the castle for his use; and before March 1439 he had passed into the keeping of Livingstone at Stirling. A somewhat legendary account of this transference is that the queen mother, when by great pains she had allayed all Crichton's suspicions, obtained from him leave to take out of the castle two boxes full of her clothes and ornaments, on the pretext that she wished to make a pilgrimage to the White Kirk. She packed her belongings in one box and placed her son in the other; and thus she conveyed him to Leith,

where a ship was in readiness to sail to Stirling. It is said that Livingstone subsequently besieged Edinburgh Castle, that it was surrendered to him, and then solemnly restored to Crichton. Soon afterwards Crichton rode out of Edinburgh under cover of night, kidnapped the king at Stirling, and brought him back to the castle.

The tragedy known as the "Black Dinner" was enacted in 1440. Its hero was William, Earl of Douglas, a proud boy of sixteen, who was pronounced by the lords of parliament to be a danger to the realm. He was invited with "colouris and paintit words" to come to Edinburgh for the service of the commonweal; and he rode accordingly with a considerable train, among whom were his mentor, the aged Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, and his young brother David, whom "he never sufferit to pase ane fute braid from himself." They were met by Crichton, who made them halt at his house and gave them a flattering reception. It is said, however, that the frequent passage of messengers between Crichton and Livingstone, as well probably as a knowledge of the condition of parties, made many in the earl's train uneasy; and these besought him not to enter Edinburgh Castle, or at least to send home his brother. But he would give no ear to their warnings; and although, as rumours spread throughout the company, David Douglas was affected and would also have persuaded his brother to turn back, the earl answered only with sharp reproofs. So his followers, with "sad, dreary, and quiet countenances," continued on their way in silence. When the brothers arrived at the castle they were received with great show of joy and respect; and after many of their friends had left Edinburgh they were entertained at a banquet, osten-

sibly a consummation of the festivities in their honour. As the meal was nearly over a bull's head on a dish was brought into the room and set before the earl, and the Douglas knew this sign of condemnation to death. He and his brother leapt to their feet and looked wildly for means of escape. But a company of armed men, who had been in hiding, closed around them; they and Sir Malcolm Fleming and other gentlemen, "their familiars and assisters," were bound and dragged forth to the castle hill. The chronicler tells that the little king was fond of his bold cousin the earl, and prayed Crichton for God's sake to set free the brothers and to save their lives, but he was roughly silenced. After a hasty mock trial the Douglases were beheaded, and Fleming met a like fate, probably a few days later.

"Edinburgh Castle, toune and toure,
God grant thou sink for sinne!
And that even for the black dinoir
Erl Douglas gat therein."

Five years later James, with another Douglas, William the eighth earl, besieged Crichton in the castle, and obtained a surrender after nine weeks. A chronicler relates that the fortress was afterwards reformed. During the remainder of his reign the king was frequently at the castle. We hear of endive brought thither for his chamber, the brewing of his beer, his wardrobe, his stable beneath the rock. In 1455 it was enacted in parliament that a bale should be burnt at the castle to warn all Lothian of the approach of any enemy.

James III. was in July 1466, when he was fourteen years old, captured at Linlithgow by a faction headed by Sir Alexander Boyd, Robert, Lord Fleming, a son of Malcolm who was executed in 1440, and

Gilbert, Lord Kennedy; and was brought a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle. In the following October a parliament met there; and on the fifth day of its session Boyd, in the presence of the estates, knelt before the king, and asked him if he had been removed from Linlithgow against his will. James replied that all had been done with his consent; and Boyd was made guardian of the king and his two brothers, and keeper of the royal fortresses. In November 1469, when a reversal of parties had occurred, Lord Boyd and his brother Alexander were deprived, and sentenced to death for their seizure of the king.

The custody of the castle, with power to delegate attendant duties and an annual pension, was granted by James in 1478, for five years, to the queen Margaret.

In 1479 the king imprisoned his two brothers, Alexander, Duke of Albany, and John, Earl of Mar, the former in Edinburgh Castle. The friends of the ambitious Albany procured that a French ship should appear in the road of Leith near to Newhaven. She claimed to be a trader carrying wine, and a messenger was despatched to the castle to ask if the duke desired to buy. He, with leave of the captain of the castle, sent his familiar servant to the Frenchmen, with two bosses in which to carry back four gallons of their "best and starkest." The man returned with his bosses filled with malvasie; and moreover there was in one of them a bundle of cords, and in the other a roll of wax on which was secret writing. Further he brought tidings to his master by word of mouth.

That night Albany bade the captain to supper, with the promise of a drink of good wine, which the other "gladly desyrit"; but the duke told his "chamber child" to drink nothing and to be on the alert. After supper the captain went on his rounds: first to the

chamber of the king, who was staying in the castle; then to the gates, which he caused to be closed; and then to set the watch. He returned to drink; and, at an hour when all were in bed, he and the duke played for the wine. "The fire was hot, and the wine was stark, and the captain and his men became merrie." Albany saw his opportunity; he made a sign to his chamber boy, leapt from the table, and slew the captain with a whinger. The boy also was "right busy"; and between them they killed four men and put their bodies in the fire. Then they went to the wall, to a place where they were out of sight of the watches; and the duke let his boy down on the rope. It was too short; the boy fell and broke a bone and cried out a warning to his master, who lengthened the rope with a sheet before he too made the descent. He then carried his servant on his back to a place where he might be hidden; and at last made good his escape to the ship.

Next morning the watches noticed a rope hanging over the wall, and ran to report to the captain; but they did not find him in his room. They went to the duke's chamber, and the door stood open; one dead man lay athwart it and three others were burning in the fire. The watches told the king the "very dolorous and fearful" tidings; and he would give them no credence until he himself had been in Albany's room. Thereafter he ordered the gates of the castle to be shut, and the whole place to be searched before the news had passed to the town; and he sent out horsemen to scour all parts of the country for the duke. But a man came presently from Leith and told that a boat had put out from the French ship and taken in certain men; and that afterwards the ship had sailed out of the Forth.

At nine o'clock the lords came to the king at the castle; and when they heard of Albany's escape some were fearful, and others "well content." "The king was very commovit at the slaughter of the captain of the castle, but more feirit at the departure of the duke."

Albany went first to Dunbar, which he ordered to be held in his name, and then to France. Dunbar was captured for the king after a siege of several months; and James thereafter went to Edinburgh Castle, where he remained for some time in enjoyment of much peace of mind.

After the murder of his favourites at Lauder, in 1482, he was convoyed to Edinburgh by his lords, and again imprisoned in the castle. The chronicler states that all outward respect was paid to him as a prince. In his desire for freedom he first made overtures to the Earl of Douglas, who shared his prison, and offered to restore him to favour and to his possessions, but the earl answered only with "high and presumptuous words." Eventually the king's release was procured by Albany, with the support of the English. James in his gratitude made grants to his brother, to the town of Edinburgh, and to John Dundas, his familiar servant, who all had been instrumental in his delivery. In 1488, shortly before the battle of Sauchie Burn, the king was for the last time at Edinburgh Castle. He provisioned it, and deposited in it all his treasure of gold and silver. It was surrendered to James IV. on his accession.

In the reign of James IV. Edinburgh Castle ceased to be a royal residence; it was thenceforth, with rare exceptions, only a fortress, a prison, and a barracks. This king, however, "usit mikil jousting," and the lists were near the royal stables, on the flat ground at the base of the south side of the castle rock. The history of a combat fought there reads like a passage

from the *Mort d'Arthur*. A knight, said variously to be Dutch and French, and called Sir John Clokbuis or Corpans, desired to joust, and none was so ready and apt to meet him as Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother germain to the Earl of Arran, and nephew to the king. He was a young man and less practised than the stranger, but he lacked "no hardiment, strength, nor curage." The two were mounted on great horses, and at the sound of a trumpet they rushed rudely together, so that each man broke his spear. New spears were brought, but Sir Patrick's horse reared, and refused again to encounter the other, and the duel was finished on foot. Either knight struck "maliciously" at his adversary, and they fought for long with uncertain issue, until at last Sir Patrick "ruschit manfullie upon the Dutchman and strak him upon his knees." Then the king from the window of his chamber in the castle threw down his hat, and the combatants were separated. The heralds and trumpets proclaimed Sir Patrick victor.

The preceding account has concerned at least three castles which looked down on Edinburgh from the craig: the castle of the kings of the Celtic line, which was destroyed by Robert the Bruce; the castle built by Edward III. and David Bruce; and the palace of the first two Jameses.

Messrs. MacGibbon and Ross say of the primitive castle that it "would no doubt consist of an enceinte or enclosure of mingled turf and rocks, taking in the highest and most defensible part of the rock, and would contain some wooden huts for accommodation of the garrison. This enceinte would, in course of time, be superseded by a stone and lime wall, with towers at intervals, after the manner of mediæval fortresses. There was also probably, as usual, a keep or tower,

larger and stronger than the others, serving as the residence of the commander, and as the last refuge of the garrison in case of siege. From the natural configuration of the site the general disposition of the various parts must at all times have been much the same. The entrance would always be by the same narrow pass by which the castle is now approached."

Of this early castle the only remaining part is the Norman chapel of St. Margaret, that building of which the whole interior length is less than twenty-eight feet, and which yet is very impressive in its massiveness, its simplicity, and its gloom lightened only by small deep-set Norman windows. It was for long desecrated: at one time it was divided into two stories and used as a powder magazine; at another it served as a shop for the sale of trashy articles to trippers. It has been restored to its ancient shape and use by the Antiquarian Society of Scotland.

It consists of a chancel, bounded on the east by a wall pierced by an enriched Norman arch, beyond which is a circular apse, remarkable because it is externally square. The entrance is through a modern porch.

The fourteenth-century castle, like others of the period, evidently consisted mainly of the strong keep, called Davy's Tower. This is known from descriptions anterior to the siege of 1573 to have been sixty feet high, and to have contained a hall, a kitchen, chambers, and lofts. Its site was above the present Half Moon battery, and near the centre of it, behind a courtyard which surmounted the east wall of the castle. The chapel erected by David II. stood in such position that it was eventually the north side of the quadrangle of the palace yard. Maitland, in the eighteenth century, when it had been assigned to the

use of the garrison, describes it as "a very long and large antient church." It has been replaced by modern buildings.

The west side of the quadrangle is now also occupied by modern buildings. On the south side is the parliament hall, which has been carefully restored and is used as an armoury and military museum. It is a structure of noble proportions. The upper part and roof seem to date from the reign of James V., who must have replaced the roof constructed under James II. Many features have undergone alteration, as, for instance, the windows, which were originally large and mullioned, and probably gave light from both the north and the south walls. The vaults on which the hall was supported contained, as was customary, a kitchen and offices. It is said that they were also used as prisons, and one of them is called "Argyll's dungeon." There is no doubt, at all events, that in the beginning of the nineteenth century some French prisoners of war were confined in them, an episode in the history of the castle made very real by Stevenson's "St. Ives."

The hall communicated at its east end with the private apartments of the king in the old palace on the eastern side of the courtyard. This, in its present condition, is described as "a thing of shreds and patches . . . built with fragments from old buildings." At its southern end, however, some fifteenth-century rooms remain. They were renovated in the reign of Mary, and include the room in which James VI. was born. Confined and dark as they are, it is no wonder that James IV. transferred his court to Holyrood.

The precincts comprehend a number of other buildings, many of them modern and others of a purely military interest. This castle, which the queen

of Alexander III. found so sad and solitary a place, which Scottish kings inhabited only from motives of expediency, has a truly magnificent prospect. The New Town of Edinburgh is now to the north of it, and beyond is the silver band of the Forth, and, still further north, the coast of Fife and the distant hills. To the south is a lonelier, a more mysterious country, the far stretching ranges of the Pentland Hills.

Holyrood Palace stands at the eastern end of the street which leads down the Castle Hill, through the old town of Edinburgh, past the site of the gate known as the Nether Bow, and into the burgh of the Canongate. It is thus outside the limits of the ancient city, and its foundation marks the beginning of a less warlike age, of the time when kings no longer dwelt in the fortresses of walled towns, but built pleasant houses within parks and gardens in the suburbs of their capitals. Further, it is indicative of the less utilitarian conception of a dwelling-place: the site and the fabric of the castle were the outcome of military expediency; but Holyrood showed the effects of the culture which the Stewart kings had brought into Scotland. This influenced not only the architecture and the decoration of the palace, but also the choice of its position, amid lands suitable for the creation of parks and gardens, and at the base of Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Craigs, where contemporary taste was least offended by the rudeness of nature, and where some shelter from the east winds made possible lighter sports and dalliance in pleasure gardens.

The abbey of Holyrood was founded by King David I., and had from early times a connection with the royal house. In 1228 judgment against Gillespie Mahohegan was delivered in the chapter-house of Holyrood, and there, in 1255, Alexander III. held a

council; and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries councils and conventions of estates met on several occasions. In 1343 David Bruce granted to the abbot the chaplainry of the royal chapel, and the office of the king's principal chaplain, with power to delegate his duties. The abbey church was this king's burial-place in 1370. In 1381, when John of Gaunt took refuge in Scotland, he was escorted by the Earl of Douglas, Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, and an honourable company to the abbey of Holyrood, and there entertained as the guest of the nation. Four years later, when Richard II. burnt the town of Edinburgh, his uncle, mindful of former hospitality, persuaded him to spare Holyrood House. The abbey church was the scene in 1428 of the surrender of the Lord of the Isles. He came in obedience to a royal summons; and in the presence of the king, the queen, and all the magnates, he knelt before the high altar, clad only in his shirt and breeches, and implored for mercy. He tendered his drawn sword, holding it by the point, to the king; and at the intercession of the queen and all the great men he was pardoned. In this reign there is proof of the residence of sovereigns in the monastery. In 1429 it was the birth-place of the twin sons of James I., who were knighted by their father at their baptism in the abbey church, when they were named Alexander and James. Alexander died in infancy; his brother became James II. of Scotland, who, as a boy of eight years old, was convoyed on the 25th of March 1437 from the castle to "Halyruidhouse," "with great and glorious triumph." The nobles rode before him and the people followed behind, "shouting for joy and crying 'God save the king.'" In extraordinary enthusiasm the populace imputed almost divine virtues to their little king; he

was apostrophised by cries of "Oh devout and godly!" "Gentle, benign!" "Oh stout and strang!" At the abbey the three estates received him with due ceremony, and he was there crowned "with common hands clapping," for admission to the church had been denied to none. This king is the first known to have built at Holyrood: in 1449 an allowance was made in the Exchequer Rolls for wood, iron, and other materials for his fabric in the monastery; and previously, in 1438, an iron lock had been provided for the house in the abbey in which his hides were kept. He was buried in the abbey church; and James III. provided five ells of satin and twenty-one of buckram to adorn his tomb, and employed a painter to depict on it his tunic and arms. The marriage of James III. to Margaret, daughter of King Christian of Denmark, took place in the church in 1469; and it was probably to accommodate the royal guests that in this year thirty loads of straw were bought by royal mandate for beds in the monastery. In this reign it is clear that a part of the abbey had been set aside as a royal residence; a glass wright received in 1473 five shillings for making the window of the queen's chamber in Holyrood House. The Christmas of 1473 was kept by the king and queen at the abbey; and the Ladies Glamis, Edmonstoun, Borthwick, and Roslyn were bidden to the festivities. When James came forth in 1483 from his imprisonment in the castle, he was met by his brother, the Duke of Albany. He leapt upon a hackney which awaited him, but he would not ride forward until Albany had mounted behind him. Thus together they went "doun the gait to the abbey of Hallierudhouse, where they remainit ane while in great merriness"; and there the king received the obedience of the lords.

The palace of Holyrood, to the west of the abbey, was built by James IV.; entries with regard to the expenses of construction are numerous from 1496 to 1505. In the latter year payment was made for the completion of the great tower; but already in February 1502 the king dated a charter from his new palace. In August his marriage with Princess Margaret of England, the alliance of "the Thrissil and the Rois," so momentous in its consequences, was celebrated in the abbey church. "The king was in a gown of white damask, figured with gold, and lined with sarsanet. He had on a jacket with sleeves of crimson satin, the cuffs of black velvet; under the same a doublet of cloth of gold and a pair of scarlet hose; his shirt embroidered with thread of gold; his bonnet black, with a rich ruby; and his sword about him. The queen was arrayed in a rich robe like himself, bordered with crimson velvet and lined with the same. She had a very rich collar of pierrery and pearls round her neck, and the crown upon her head, her hair hanging. Betwixt the said crown and the hair was a very rich coif hanging down behind the whole length of her body."

The occasion was one of much rejoicing; the precincts of Holyrood were crowded with spectators during the ceremony, and the festivities were continued for a week. There were dinners and suppers, a largesse proclaimed three times by the Marchmont herald, games, dancing and music, tilting matches in the courtyard, which the king and queen watched from the windows, and in which Sir Patrick Hamilton was a combatant. A young Italian "played before the king on a cord very well"; John Inglish and his company gave a performance in the queen's principal chamber after supper on the 11th; and on the 13th

they enacted a morality play. On the 10th the king dubbed forty-one knights, and with the words, "Lady, these are your knights," he presented them to the queen.

It is through Dunbar's poems that it is easiest to gain some realisation of such pastimes of the court. In his "Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer," he describes the manner in which several gentlemen and two ladies danced singly before the queen:—

"Schir John Sinclair begowthe to dance,
Fore he was new come out of France;
For ony thing that he do mycht
The ane fut zeid ay onrycht,
And to the tother wald not gree.
Quoth ane, 'Tak up the Quenis knycht';
A mirrear Dance mycht na man see.'

. . . . . .

Than cam in Maestris Musgraeffe;
Scho mycht hef lernit all the laeffe;
Quhen I saw hir sa trimlye dance,
Hir guid convoy and countenance,
Than, for hir sak, I wisset to be
The grytast erle or duik in France;
A mirrear Dance mycht na man see."

Nicholas Wricht received in the year of the marriage £10 for his task of the queen's great chamber of Holyrood House. Other payments were for the furniture of the palace: 54s. for a table and a chair of cypress, £3 for a double counter for the bow window of the chamber, 5s. for two ells of "plesance" for a table in the king's oratory, £4 for twenty ells of green frieze to hang in the king's closet, £12 for arras for the great bed, 13s. for webs to make the lofts of the beds, and various sums for the carriage to the palace of a feather bed obtained from Flanders, and of beds, clothes, and hangings from the castle. The wedding guests slept in 1502, according to precedent, on straw; for 35s. was paid to the man

who provided it, and who also strewed the abbey close with grass. In 1504 the king granted £50 to Maister Leonard, especially for his diligent labour in the building of the palace. In the same year there is first mention of the fee, received annually until the middle of the century by Thomas Peebles, glazier, for his sustenance of the windows of this house and those of Stirling, Falkland, and Linlithgow. A keeper of Holyrood was appointed for life in 1502, and subsequently.

There is pathos in sparse reflections of the gay court of James IV. which appear in the treasurer's accounts: references to the guisers of Edinburgh who danced in the palace, to the cupboard of glasses brought from the castle when Mountjoy, king-at-arms of the French king, dined at Holyrood, to the king's bards, a queen of May at the abbey gate, a dance of French minstrels, the maker of the king's organs, fourteen men who bore a black lady to the palace, and William Taverner, who received six French crowns, or four guineas, for a farce played to the king and queen. The most interesting entry is of the payment, in October 1511, of £3, 4s. for eleven and a half ells of blue and six quarters of yellow taffetas, to make a coat for David Lindsay, for the play performed before the king and queen in Holyrood. The poet was then about twenty-one years of age, and is known to have been in the service of the court. He said of James IV.:—

> "And of his court, throuch Europe sprang the fame
> Of lustie Lordis and lufesom Ladyis ying,
> Tryumphand tornayis, justing, and knychtly game,
> With all pastyme, accordyng for ane king."

Other records are of the sums lost by the king when he shot with the culveryn in the hall of Holyrood

House; his gains were either non-existent or else not delivered to the treasurer. Considerable expenses were incurred by the making of gardens, of which the site was partly provided by the drying of a loch. In 1506 a lion was brought in a cradle from Leith to the palace; and subsequently a lion-house was constructed. The last visit of James IV. to Holyrood was made immediately before Flodden, when he came in haste to superintend the removal of artillery from the castle.

He had spent large sums on the building of a chapel, presumably the structure of inconsiderable size which was removed in 1671, when the palace acquired its present form. In 1505 he granted an annual sum of twenty marks to a chaplain who should celebrate perpetually at the altar of the Blessed Virgin and St. Michael the Archangel in the new chapel within the palace.

Albany, in the troubled years of his regency, probably resided often at Holyrood. He received there from an ambassador of the King of France the order of the knighthood of the Cockle. In 1517, during one of his repeated visits to France, he left the government to De la Bastie, who lived at the palace and provided himself with a guard of eighty French hagbutters. The popularity of the Gallicised regent cannot thus have been augmented. The young king was at Holyrood in March 1524, when Albany's period of power had ended; and he there received the homage of the Earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and Morton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, and other spiritual and temporal lords. In 1528, when he had escaped from his virtual imprisonment by Angus at Stirling, the lords brought him to Holyrood. The royal household was reorganised, and new appointments made of

HOLYROOD PALACE.

From an old print.

the master of the household, the cupper, carver, master stabler, hunter, falconer, porter, and a fool "callit John Makcrerie." On this occasion the king and his court were in the palace for a year "with great cheer, triumph, and merriness." There is less evidence of the amusements of James V. than of those of his father; he witnessed at Holyrood a dance of Egyptians, and lost considerable sums at cards. In 1535 he received, with much solemnity, the order of the Garter. Two years later he brought his first queen, Magdalen of France, whom he had married in face of all warnings as to her delicacy, to Scotland. The king and queen and their French escort were received at their landing by the nobles, and accompanied to the palace; and as they passed through the streets "ane thing gave us occasion to wonder, that when the nobility and commune people beheld our queen, at the first sicht sic pleasure they had of her countenance." The event was the subject of a poem by David Lindsay:—

"Thow saw mony ane lustie fresche galland
Weill ordourit for resaving of their Quene;
Ilk craftisman, with bent bow in his hand,
Full galzeartlie in schort clething of grene;
The honest burges cled thow suld have sene,
Sum in scarlet and sum in claith of grene,
For till have met their Lady Soverane.

. . . . . .

Thow suld have sene hir coronatioun
In the fair abbey of the Holy Rude,
In presence of ane myrthful multitude,
Sic banketing, sic awfull tournamentis
On hors and fute, that tyme whilk suld have bene!
Sic Chapell Royall with sic instrumentis
And craftie musick, singing from the splene,
In this countrie was never hard nor sene!
Bot all this great solempnite and gam
Turnit thow hes 'In Requiem aeternam.'"

For Magdalen, who is said to have been as pleased with Scotland as were the Scots with her, entered Holyrood only to die there a few weeks later, on the 7th of July.

Next year James again brought a queen from France, Mary of Guise, who came to Edinburgh on St. Margaret's day, and rode down the High Street to the palace "with great sports played to her through all parts of the town." The treasurer's accounts record the expenses connected with the journey from St. Andrews to Holyrood, by way of Kinghorn and Leith, of Madame Montrulis, probably a member of the queen's French train. She was accompanied by gentlewomen; twelve horses were needed to convey her cooks and other servants; her baggage was apparently carried by mules. A French page, who returned with her to France, was supplied at the expense of the treasury with a coat of black velvet, a cloak of Spanish frieze, a black fustian doublet, a black bonnet, a French riding-hat, a pair of hose of black cloth of Lille, and a pair of riding-boots. The introduction of such fashions must have greatly increased the extravagance of the Scottish court. A light is thrown on the manner in which Mary and her ladies passed the short days and the long evenings of winter in the chambers of the northern palace, by a record that in December 1540, one pound weight of "small sewing gold" was delivered to the queen at Holyrood.

Her infant sons, James and Robert, were buried next year at "Halyruidhous, whilk was ane fair deid to this realm." In 1542, immediately after Solway Moss, James V. came to the palace; and he remained for eight days in grievous mortification and despair, "with great dolour and lamentation of the tinsall and shame

of his lieges," before he passed into Fife to his death. He was brought to lie with his sons in the "fair deid" of Holyrood.

Considerable expenses were incurred in this reign in connection with the fabric of the palace. In 1523 there is mention of the construction of a casement window in the west gable, for the queen's great chamber, and of five stone corbels on the walls. Other references are to French armourers in the palace and to artillery in its tower. Payments were made to the gardener; in 1536 to men who worked with the French gardener. In 1541 certain lands had been lately included in the park. The mint, called the "Cunzehous," was situated in 1527 near the palace, within the close of the monastery, whence its removal was ordered in 1581.

Treaties between Arran, regent, and Henry VIII. were solemnly ratified in the abbey church of Holyrood on the 25th of August 1543, but were repudiated in December by the Scottish parliament. The English king's instructions for the subsequent invasion of Scotland, in May 1544, included the order to "sack Holyrood House," and the palace is said to have been rendered wholly desolate. The building cannot, however, have suffered serious injury, for it was frequently inhabited by Arran. In June 1554, soon after Mary of Guise had assumed the regency, payment was made for the "morris" brought to Holyrood and the play there; but it is unlikely that many court festivities had place in this troubled period. Mary caused the mass to be celebrated both in her own chapel in the palace and in the abbey church. When the lords of the congregation were in possession of Edinburgh in 1559, they seized the palace with all its rich furniture, and its surrender to the queen-regent was a

condition of the truce which began on the 26th of July. Mary returned to Holyrood; but in 1560, at the approach of the English army, she retired thence to the castle, where she died on the 10th of June.

In the minds of most people Holyrood Palace is chiefly connected with Mary Stewart. The brilliance of this queen's court was spurious; it had, unlike that introduced by James IV., no relation to the life of the people; but in its very contrast to the stern and narrow ideals which in fifty years had changed the Scottish nation, it had a dramatic quality. Mary, then in her twentieth year, arrived at Leith at about ten in the morning of the 19th of August 1561, in the company of Claude d'Aumale, Duc de Lorraine, Réné, Marquis d'Elbœuf, Francis de Lorraine, grand prior, and other gentlemen; and she was convoyed to Holyrood an hour afterwards. Her first conflict with her subjects occurred within five days. On the 24th of August preparations were made for the celebration of mass in the chapel of the palace. The Master of Lindsay and other gentlemen of Fife were standing in the abbey close, and they raised a shout—"The idolatrous priest sall dee the deith, according to God's law." The candles which a servant was carrying into the chapel were taken from him, broken, and trodden under foot; and more objects connected with the service would have been thus treated, if members of the queen's household had not intervened. In the crowd around the palace no man of the old religion and no Frenchman dared make himself heard; and a riot, which would have resulted at least in the lynching of the priest, was averted only by Lord James Stewart, "whom all the godly did reverence," and who took upon himself to keep the chapel door, under the pretext that he would

suffer no Scot to enter it. The mob dispersed; but in the afternoon the people went to Holyrood in great companies and signified their determination against any reversion to the old faith; and meantime, within the palace, the queen's panic-stricken servants clamoured to return to France. The wiser heads brought pacification by assurances to the Scots that the queen would be converted after the departure of her French uncles, and by a proclamation which confirmed the religion of the land as it had been on her arrival.

Mary made her entry into Edinburgh on the 2nd of September, and she was accompanied back to the palace by some children driven in a cart, who had formed part of the pageant for her reception. On her arrival they addressed her on the subject of the abolition of the mass, and sang a psalm. Then in her outer chamber they presented her with a gilded cupboard which had cost 2000 marks, and which she accepted with thanks.

In this beginning of her rule the queen had, at Holyrood, her first conference with Knox. She summoned him on account of a sermon he had preached against the mass, and none other but James Stewart was present at their interview. Knox's attitude to sovereignty was new to Mary; in the midst of their speech "the queen stood still as one amazed more than a quarter of an hour, and her countenance was changed. Lord James began to entertain her with fair speeches, and demanded, 'What hath offended you, madam?' At length she said, 'Well then, I perceive my subjects must obey you and not me, and sall do what they please and not what I command'"; and Knox replied, "It is my care, that both princes and subjects obey God." The meeting ended when the queen was called to dinner;

and, for all her self-control, she had quite failed to win over her antagonist. "If there be not in her," he said afterwards to his friends, "a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indured heart against God and His truth, my judgement faileth me."

Some of the lords of the congregation were less obdurate against her flattery, her hints of possible attendance at preachings, and her conscientious scruples. When Lord Ochiltree arrived in Edinburgh he was greeted by Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleugh: "Now, my lord, ye are come, and almost the last of all. I perceive that the fiery edge is not off you. But I fear ye become as calm as the rest when the holy water of the court sall be sprinkled upon you. For I have been here now five days. At the first I heard every man when he came say, 'Let us hang the priest!' But after they had been twice or thrice in the abbey all their fervency was cooled. I think there be some enchantment at the court whereby men are bewitched."

Mary's offences were not all dictated by religion. She was wont to say that she saw nothing in Scotland but gravity, which could not agree well with her, who had been brought up joyously; and when she was not in the presence of the council, when she, her fiddlers and her dancing companions were alone in the palace, "there might be seen unseemly scripping, notwithstanding she was wearing the dool weed." Her young uncle, d'Elbœuf, was with her at Holyrood in the winter of 1561; and he, Bothwell, and John, Lord of Coldingham, created scandal by gallant exploits and by nightly incursions into Edinburgh, which once almost terminated in a serious encounter with the Hamiltons. Arran, the head of that house, is said to have borne immoderate love to the queen; and one

night the town of Edinburgh was called to watch the palace, on the pretext that he had an intention to abduct her. No attempt ensued, and the rumour was alleged to have originated with the queen and her advisers, for the purpose of securing a guard of hired soldiers.

On the 7th of February 1562, James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews and the queen's natural brother, was made Earl of Mar; and on the next day he married Agnes Keith, daughter of William, Earl Marshal, at St. Giles's church. After the wedding he was escorted by all the nobility to the palace, where a banquet took place, at which the queen was present; and in the evening there were various sports, apparently sham combats and horse-races, and a display of fireworks. A number of gentlemen, who included William Kirkcaldy of Grange, were knighted by the queen.

The ambassador of Sweden was honourably received by Mary at Holyrood House on the 20th of May. The day was that of the marriage of Lord Fleming; and the queen and court, with their guest, witnessed a representation of the siege of Leith on Duddingston Loch, for which a castle and galleys had been constructed of timber, and which was rendered realistic by the shooting of great guns. The ambassador left at the end of the month, and the queen gave him at parting a chain valued at a thousand crowns.

The winter of 1562 was again spent by Mary at Holyrood. Knox asserts that when she heard of the renewed persecution of Huguenots in France, "then dancing began to grow hot." Her distractions led him to preach against the vanity of princes; and, as a consequence, he was summoned to the palace for a second interview. In the royal presence he rehearsed his former strictures, but added: "Of dancing, madam,

I do not utterly damn it, provided two vices be avoided: the former, that the principal vocation of those that use that exercise be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing; and second, that they dance not, as the Philistines their fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of God's people." And Mary again showed remarkable restraint. "I know," she said, "that my uncles and you are not of one religion; and therefore I cannot blame you, albeit you have no good opinion of them."

This winter is marked by the sad story of Châtelar's love for the queen. He had come to Scotland in the train of St. Amville, the son of Anne Montmorency, Constable of France; and his master, it is said, was so enamoured of Mary that he could hardly be persuaded to return to his own country, and that he left Châtelar to urge his suit. The queen distinguished the poet with her favour, and singled him out particularly at a masked ball. Knox and the English agent Randolph, both hostile witnesses, accuse her of encouraging his passion. At all events, on the night of the 12th of February, he had the madness to conceal himself underneath her bed. It is said that in her fury, when she discovered him, she sent for her brother James Stewart, now Earl of Moray, and demanded that he should immediately slay her lover; and that Moray at first consented, but on second thoughts refused. Châtelar repeated his offence at Burntisland; and he was conveyed to St. Andrews, tried, and beheaded on the 22nd of February 1563.

There was, while the queen was at Stirling in this year, an outbreak of indignation against the celebration of mass in the chapel royal. Some zealous Protestants had been appointed to watch at the palace and note who attended the service; and certain of them, after

numbers of people had entered the chapel, rushed in among them. Patrick Cranstoun advanced towards the altar where the priest was ready to officiate: "The queen's majesty is not here," he said. "How dare thou then be so malapert as openly to transgress law?" The congregation was thrown into confusion; the priest and the French ladies raised a shout; and Madame Raillie, mistress of the queen's maids, sent a messenger to St. Giles's church to bid the laird of Pittaro, comptroller, then at the sermon, come and save her life and the palace. He hastily secured the company of the provost and bailies of Edinburgh and a sufficiency of men, and went down to Holyrood to find the disturbance at an end, save for "a peaceable man forbidding the transgression of laws." This person was presumably haranguing the crowd. Cranstoun and Andrew Armstrong were bound over to keep the peace.

In 1563 the most extraordinary of all Mary's interviews with Knox took place at the palace. He had delivered to the lords assembled for parliament a warning against her marriage with a Roman Catholic, and this seemed to her the last insult. He was summoned to the palace, and accompanied thither in the afternoon by Ochiltree and others; but only John Erskine of Dun entered the queen's cabinet with him. On this occasion she did not employ her wit to modify his antagonism. She appears to have sent for him in a fit of baffled rage, and she overwhelmed him with reproaches. "I have borne with all your injurious speeches uttered both against myself and my uncles; I have sought your favour by all possible means; I offered unto you presence and audience wheresoever it pleased you, and yet I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I sall once be avenged." She was interrupted

by her tears, and even shrieked in her anger; her chamber-boy could hardly supply her with handkerchiefs. "What have ye to do with my marriage?" she demanded. As she wept and moaned John Erskine, "a man of meek and mild spirit," strove to calm her by flattery; he praised her beauty and her excellent parts, and declared that all the princes in Europe would be glad to seek her favour; but he only "cast oil in the flaming fire." Knox, while he abated nothing from his position, deprecated her grief and anger. But the queen was the more offended; and at last she ordered him from her presence, and desired him to await her pleasure in the outer chamber. Erskine remained with Mary, and was joined by the lord of Coldingham.

The queen's ladies were seated in her outer room clad in their gay and beautiful dresses; and we are told that when Knox came out to them they were frightened, and that he stood among them as a stranger, supported only by the presence of Ochiltree. A silence must have fallen on the chamber; but presently the preacher made profit of the occasion. "Oh, fair ladies," he said, "how pleasant were this life of yours if it should endure, and in the end ye might pass to heaven with all this gay gear! But fie upon that knave Death, which will come whether we will or not! And when he hath layed on the arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair or tender; but the silly soul, I fear, sall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, targetting, nor precious stones." Thus grimly he passed an hour, until he was dismissed by the laird of Dun.

A Roman Catholic marriage was not prevented. In 1563 Matthew, Earl of Lennox, was released from

his outlawry, at the market cross of Edinburgh. On the 23rd of September 1564 he arrived at the lodging, near the palace, of the commendator of Holyrood Abbey, preceded by twelve gentlemen outriders, wearing velvet coats, and having chains hung round their necks, and followed by thirty gentlemen and servants, well mounted, and clad in grey livery. Immediately an honourable messenger summoned him to the royal presence, and he was received before most of the nobility of the kingdom. He was restored to his lands and honours on the 9th of October, and on the 27th he was reconciled in the palace, by the queen and council, with the Duke of Châtelhérault and the Earl of Arran. They shook hands and drank, each to the others.

Owing to the inadequacy of the palace for the accommodation of her court, the queen, in December 1564, granted to Lord Ruthven and his wife, the Lady Joneta Stewart, whose attendance she had commanded, certain monastic buildings of Holyrood. They were a great house and walls at the east end of the New Frater, a vault beneath it, and the crouch-house on its south side, all of them in a ruinous state.

In February 1566 Darnley returned to Scotland. On his coming to Edinburgh he danced with the queen, and the history of the court for the next few months is that of her passion for him, and of the consequent dissensions of the nobles. On the 22nd of July the approaching marriage of Mary and Darnley was proclaimed in St. Giles's church and in the chapel royal; and on that day, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, she conferred on her prospective husband, in the palace, and with magnificent ceremonial, the dukedom of Albany. On Sunday, the 25th, they were married in the chapel

by John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, in the presence of all the nobility except Moray and his adherents.

The hostile action of Moray caused instructions to be issued to the town of Edinburgh in September to keep a watch at the palace. In the same month James, Earl of Bothwell, had audience of the queen, and was graciously received. He apparently spent the following winter at the court. On the 27th the queen and Darnley summoned certain chief citizens of Edinburgh to the palace and demanded from them a loan of money. They refused to grant it, and were imprisoned in the old tower.

In February 1566 Rambouillet, ambassador of the King of France, arrived at Holyrood with thirty-six horse in his train. He lodged with Henry Kinloch in the Canongate; but he was at once received by the queen and her husband. At noon on the 10th of the month he ceremoniously conferred on Darnley, in the palace and in the presence of the nobles, the order of the knighthood of the Cockle. Afterwards the queen, Darnley, and the ambassador went to the chapel to hear mass; but most of the nobles refrained from following them. In the evening a banquet was given to Rambouillet in the old chapel of Holyrood, which was newly and magnificently hung with tapestry for the occasion; and a maskery was provided by the lords. On the following night the queen again made a banquet for the ambassador, and it also was followed by a mask, in which the queen, her Maries, and her other ladies were dressed as men. Thus clad they presented to Rambouillet and each of his gentlemen a whinger suited to his estate, bravely made and encased in embroidery. A banquet took place at the castle on the next day; and on the 14th the ambassador took his leave.

Some ten days later Bothwell was married in the abbey church to Lady Jean Gordon, daughter of the late Earl of Huntly. The event was celebrated by a banquet given by the queen, and by rejoicings which continued for five days and included joustings and tournaments. Six gentlemen of Fife were knighted.

The inner history of the court in this winter tells of the increasing confidence placed by the queen in her Italian secretary, David Riccio, the advance to favour of Bothwell, and the breach between Mary and her foolish husband, whose dissipations were particularly notorious during the visit of the French ambassador. The Lords Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, and Lennox took advantage of the peevish jealousy of Darnley to obtain his adherence to a bond which aimed immediately at the murder of Riccio, ultimately at the restoration of Moray and the banished lords. Ruthven had been for two months confined to his room by illness, yet he would not relinquish the leadership of the enterprise. On the evening of the 9th of March he arrived in the close of Holyrood with two hundred gentlemen, among whom were his son, the Master, and Morton and Lindsay. The captain of the guard, the laird of Traquair, was absent with his men: he is alleged to have been aware of the conspiracy. Ruthven took the keys of the palace from the porter, and then appointed a detachment of his followers to wait in the inner court, in case those within should raise a tumult. Morton, with a number of friends, made his way to the chamber of presence, and there he walked up and down until the moment for action should come. Ruthven had gone to Darnley's room; thence with his son, and with Andrew Ker of Faldonside, Patrick Moray of Tullibardine, George Douglas, bastard son of the Earl of Angus, Patrick Bannatyne of Stainhouse,

James Scott, deputy-sheriff of Perth, and Henry Yare, a revolted priest, he followed Darnley up a privy staircase to the queen's room. It was supper-time: Mary was at table with her half-brother, Robert Stewart, the Countess of Argyll, Robert, Bishop of Orkney, Riccio, and others. Her husband first entered the room, came up to her and put his arm round her waist. Then in the doorway she saw the dying Ruthven, clad in armour, "lean and ill-coloured," and behind him his associates, all holding naked swords. She was startled: "What strange sight," she said to Ruthven, "is this, my lord, I see in you? Are you mad?" He answered, "We have been too long mad;" and he then addressed Riccio, ordered him to depart from the supper-room, and recited his offences. Darnley, it is said, took occasion to affirm his innocence of the enterprise; and meanwhile Ruthven had not persuaded to his fate in the outer room the terrified Italian, who had taken refuge behind the queen; and who, when the earl presently advanced towards him, clung with his arms to his mistress. She took hold of him and spoke some words of authority; but he was violently pulled away by Andrew Ker, who held a pistol to her breast. The miserable victim was hustled into the chamber of presence, to be met by Morton and those who waited with him. Amid a great confusion, while tables and candles were overturned, he was slain on the threshold of Mary's supper-room. It is said that he received fifty-three wounds, the first from Morton, and that some one took advantage of the tumult and the semi-darkness to pluck Darnley's dagger from its sheath and thrust it in the corpse, thereby to give authority to the deed. The queen meanwhile turned furiously on her husband and asked him the cause of the cruel murder, and he

answered only that no harm was intended to her. Then she upbraided him, accusing him of ingratitude, since from a private gentleman she had raised him to be a king and her husband; and thereupon he "avoided the room." We are told that when one of her maids came to tell her that Riccio was dead, she dried her eyes and said, "No more tears! I will now think upon revenge." Ruthven, when all was over, came back into her chamber, sat down and called for a drink. He must have been nearly fainting from his exertion, and when she cried out at the new indignity he took little notice. Then she warned him that her unborn son would one day avenge her.

The Earls of Bothwell, Huntly, and Athol were at this time lodged in the palace. Lethington is accused of having been privy to the murder, and of having supped with Athol, partly to restrain him, partly to keep himself free from suspicion of complicity. Bothwell and Huntly, when they heard the noise of a fray, had assembled the "cooks and spits and some other rascals," but had been soon driven back by Morton's dependents. The noise of this disturbance is alleged to have caused the summary end of Riccio, whom otherwise his murderers would have preserved, that they might make a public spectacle of his death. The three earls escaped from Holyrood by a back way.

The noise had aroused the Canongate; the cry ran through the streets that "Signor Davy" was slain, and the queen held captive. The common bell rang; and the men of Edinburgh put on their armour, and hurried down to Holyrood with their provost, Simon Preston of Craigmillar. There they were received by Darnley, who assured them, on his honesty, that the queen was well "and nothing affrayit," and persuaded them to return home. They were quit for the expenditure of

£4, 7s. 6d. on wax for the thirty-five torches which had lit them to the palace.

On the three following days, the 10th, the 11th, and the 12th of March, Mary displayed much presence of mind and ingenuity. She removed Darnley's delusion that the conspiracy had in any way aimed at the enhancement of his dignity; and so resumed sway over his mind that he called her "a true princess, and he would set his life for what she promised." Ruthven and his band set their guards to keep her prisoner in her chamber; but she procured that her ladies should be restored to her, and, probably through their means, was able to communicate with her friends. On the 11th the banished lords returned to Edinburgh, came into her presence, and begged on their knees for pardon. She gave them fair words and granted all their requests. Moray appears to have had a separate interview with her, when she asked him to remove her guards and he excused himself from compliance. The lords concerned in the murder were also received, with the exception of Ruthven whose presence she refused to tolerate. She promised to go to the Tolbooth on the next day, and to grant consent in parliament to an act of remission; and then she drank the health of her enemies, severally. The lords were deceived and disarmed; and when she pleaded that the guards had for two nights deprived her of sleep, they delivered the keys of the palace to her servants, and suffered her chamber to be kept, as usual, by her own men. Her escape had already been consorted with her husband by the medium of Sir William Stanley, an Englishman. At midnight the two left the palace; Darnley was accompanied only by Stanley, and the queen by one lady. Sir Arthur Erskine, her master stabler, waited with horses near the ruined abbey. Mary mounted

behind him; her lady behind Traquair, captain of the guard; and a certain Sebastian Brown rode singly. This little company of seven people and five horses set out for Dunbar, by way of Seton. There ensued the triumph of the Roundabout Raid: on the 17th of March, Moray and his adherents left Edinburgh, and on the morrow it was re-entered by Mary. She and Darnley passed, for safety's sake, to the castle on the 25th; and there, on the 19th of June, the prince afterwards James VI. of Scotland and I. of England was born.

The spring had witnessed the breach between Mary and Darnley consequent on her discovery of his subscription of Ruthven's bond, and a reconciliation which preceded the birth of the prince. Darnley in September met the council in the queen's chamber at the palace, and was blamed for ingratitude to his wife and queen, shown in a desire to leave her. On the 29th of January 1567, she brought him from Glasgow, where he had been ill, by way of Stirling and Linlithgow, to the small house near Edinburgh called Kirk-o'-Field. On the 10th of February a musician of the queen named Sebastian or Bastian, perhaps he who had ridden with her to Seton, was married at the palace, and the festivities were graced by her presence. After supper she visited Darnley; but as she was sitting with him she announced that she must go, for she had forgotten part of her duty: she had not danced after supper, nor convoyed the bride to bed. She therefore returned to Holyrood. Bothwell was at that time lodged in the palace; and it is alleged that, after all had gone to their chambers and the guards had been set, he left it, and that the murder of Darnley was then accomplished. There is contradictory evidence as to the effect which the tidings of the deed had on Mary. Darnley's body was hurriedly brought on a board to the churchyard

of Holyrood Abbey; some say that it was laid without ceremony beside that of Riccio.

On the 16th the queen went from Holyrood to Seton, leaving her infant son in the palace, in the charge of Huntly and Bothwell. On the 19th he was conveyed to the Earl of Mar at Stirling. Mary was at the palace on the day of Bothwell's trial on the 12th of April. On that morning a messenger of Queen Elizabeth, sent on the petition of Lennox to beg for an adjournment of the trial, arrived at Holyrood. He had difficulty in obtaining an entrance; finally Bothwell himself undertook to deliver his letter, but presently returned from the errand and said that the queen was asleep. The earl's horse was brought to him; he mounted, glanced back at the palace, and Mary nodded to him from a window.

The abduction of the queen by Bothwell took place on the 24th of April; his divorce from his wife was pronounced by decrees of the 3rd and 7th of May; on the 6th he entered Edinburgh with Mary; and on the 15th she was married to him at ten in the morning, in the chapel royal, by the Protestant ceremony. Adam, Bishop of Orkney, who officiated, first declared Bothwell's repentance for his former offences and his adhesion to the Reformed faith. Of the nobility only the Earls of Crawford, Huntly, and Sutherland, and the Lords Arbroath, Oliphant, Fleming, Livingstone, Glamis, and Boyd were present; together with the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Dunblane and Ross, and some gentlemen dependents of Bothwell. "Neither pleasure nor pastime was used, as was wont when princes married."

A month later Mary Stewart came for the last time to Holyrood. It was after the battle of Carberry Hill, and she had delivered herself into the hands of

the insurgent lords. The escort which they provided bore a banner painted with the death of Darnley. She was brought to the palace at ten o'clock on the night of the 16th of June, and was greeted by insulting cries from the people of Edinburgh, who assembled to see her pass. At midnight she was hurried on to Lochleven Castle.

After her departure the lords made an inventory of the plate and jewels at Holyrood. On the 24th, the Earl of Glencairn went with his servants to the chapel royal, and noisily broke down the altar and defaced its ornaments. He gained praise from the ministry, but was blamed by the lords for acting without warrant. On the 3rd of July all the queen's silver plate was taken from the palace and struck into thirty-shilling pieces.

The body of the murdered regent Moray was brought from Leith to Holyrood on the 14th of February 1570. Thence Kirkcaldy of Grange, "in dule weid," led the funeral procession, which passed up the Canongate and the High Street to St. Giles's church; he bore a banner emblazoned with the red lion. After him came Colville of Cleish, Moray's master of the household, who carried another banner, painted with the dead man's arms; and there followed, as bearers of the body, the Earls of Athol, Mar, and Glencairn, the Lords Ruthven, Methven, and Lindsay, the Master of Graham, and others.

In the desultory war of the next three years, that between the parties of the queen and of King James, the palace has a place. In April Lord Seton, Mary's staunch friend, who had Lady Northumberland in his company, assembled near it his forces, and "made no small brag" that he would enter Edinburgh. In August, it was held by the queen's party, and Maitland

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of Lethington wrote to her that he and Kirkcaldy of Grange, captain of the castle, had caused the removal to the castle of all its tapestry and furniture. Grange, in March 1571, appointed outside it a nightly watch. After the hanging, in April, of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, he turned it into a garrison and fortified it. The proclamation published against him in May cited among his misdeeds that he had placed his men of war in Holyrood House. In July it had been gained by the king's supporters, and was occupied by a garrison of a hundred men under Captain Michael. These, on the 10th, chased back the queen's men of Edinburgh, who had come down to Holyrood in an attempt to cut off a company of horse and foot. On the night of the 15th another sally was made from the castle and town. The attacking party approached very near the palace before they fired; and then were led to think, because a little wicket in the outer entrance had been purposely left open, that the garrison had fled. They passed through the gate, and thus caught in a trap, they received considerable damage and were routed. Some cannon and great culveryn were brought on the 25th to Blackfriars Yard and directed against the palace, but were removed after three or four days. In October Mar retreated with the force which was besieging the castle and which wanted necessaries, to Leith and Holyrood House, in order that "noblemen and others might repose." An attempt at betrayal was made in April 1572 by certain soldiers of the garrison. Some companies of Edinburgh, provided with ladders, were led to the palace, within which two accomplices were in readiness. The preparations were perceived by Captain Michael's page who raised a cry of treason; and the captain started up, drew his sword, and be-

headed a soldier in the very act of opening a window to the men of the town. These immediately retired. In August the French ambassador, Du Croc, sent to negotiate between the king's party and the castellans, was at Holyrood. A parliament was held there on the 3rd of April 1573. In May the castle capitulated; and on the 18th of June Burghley had news that the regent Morton intended to keep his prisoners, Lord Home, Grange, Lethington, and Robert Melville, at Holyrood, until he knew the pleasure of the queen of England with regard to them.

In 1575 Christian, daughter of George Douglas of Parkhead, was married in the chapel royal to Edward Sinclair, feuar of Roslyn. In that year, after the passing of the plague, the regent Morton came from Dalkeith to Holyrood. He surrendered the palace and the mint after his resignation in March 1578.

Workmen were repairing Holyrood House in June 1579 with glass and other necessaries. On the 30th of September it was visited by James VI. for the first time since his infancy. He was escorted by Morton, Angus, Argyll, Montrose, Mar, Lindsay, Ochiltree, the Masters of Livingstone and of Seton, and some two thousand horse. He made his entry into Edinburgh on the 17th of October, and passed from the West Port down to the Nether Bow and thence to the palace. The citizens met him in arms; the castle guns fired a salute in his honour: "he was ane gret delyt to the beholders." He spent all the winter at Holyrood. In October a lodging there, the nearest to the king's and the fairest but for his, was prepared for Esme Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, nephew of the late Earl of Lennox.

The influence of Aubigny, henceforward known by his uncle's title, brought downfall to Morton. The

arrest of this earl was planned for the 26th of December, but on that day he went hunting with the king; and Robert Stewart, now Earl of Orkney, and the Abbot of St. Colme, were able to give him a warning. He made light of his danger, and we are told that "few doubted the sequel." Between six and seven o'clock on the evening of the 31st he was surprised in his chamber at Holyrood, and taken into the king's presence; and Captain James Stewart of the guards there charged him with complicity in Darnley's murder. In his defence he made a "large discourse," and concluded with certain bitter words directed against his accuser. Stewart replied in like style; and the two would have fallen to blows had they not been separated by the Lords Lindsay and Cathcart. Morton was then removed into the chapel where were his servants; and Stewart, ejected by another door, joined the Gordons who were waiting in great numbers, eager for a broil. The friends and retainers of the earl wished to carry him off to a place of safety; but he insisted on joining the council. Stewart, hearing of his presence, hurried thither also; and another "ruffle" would have ensued had the same lords not intervened. The servants of Morton were then ordered to depart on pain of treason, and commanded by him to obey.

He was removed while the council arbitrated on his sentence. Angus, like him a Douglas, and Lennox declined to vote. Eglinton suggested a conference with the king's advocate, who advised the committal of the accused man until he should be tried. He was therefore ordered, on pain of treason, to keep ward in his chamber at Holyrood; and was conveyed several days afterwards to Edinburgh Castle.

On the 18th of January the king commanded the

provost and bailies of Edinburgh to provide a hundred hagbutters who should attend him at the palace, by day and by night, during the time of Morton's removal to Dumbarton. Fears of treason and of an English invasion produced like measures in February. On the 10th the city magistrates were instructed to supply, until the meeting of parliament on the 20th, a nightly watch of thirty able burghers, well armed with spear, musket, hagbut, and morion. On the 20th it was ordained that the palace should be guarded by relays of sixty of the most honest and best armed inhabitants of the city, to be relieved every twenty-four hours.

Additional honours were in August 1581 conferred in Holyrood House on Lennox, henceforth a duke, James, Earl of Arran, Orkney, Gowrie, and Lord Maxwell, now Earl of Morton. On Sunday the 11th of November Gowrie's daughter was married in the chapel to the Master of Ogilvie; and there were great rejoicings and a display of fireworks.

The Ruthven Raid and the ascendancy of Gowrie and his party ensued; and in the autumn and winter of 1582–3 James was at the palace as a prisoner. The magistrates of Edinburgh were on the 16th of October 1582 directed to provide a very numerous guard of townsmen for the palace during the time of the meeting of parliament. It was to consist of 120 hagbutters, to be relieved every twenty-four hours; and the other inhabitants were charged to be ready for any sudden tumult. On the 19th of November a mandate to the provost and bailies ordered them to have at the palace, by day and by night, thirty of their neighbours, hagbutters, well supplied with musket and powder.

On the 25th of October, Angus, who had promised to enter into no bond or league without the

king's knowledge, was received by James at Holyrood and made welcome.

The plot which was a desperate attempt of Lennox to regain his ascendancy, and to which some allege that James was himself a party, was discovered late in November or early in December. The duke awaited results at Blackness, and various of his friends were in the environs of Edinburgh. It had been planned that a number of armed men should conceal themselves in the chapel royal, and after supper, when the king was at dessert, enter by the door under the long gallery, and surround and seize him. They intended then to kill Mar and Colville and to prevail upon James to send for Lennox.

On the 30th of January 1593 a notice was affixed to the place of the city magistrates in St. Giles's church. This purported to have been written at Dunkeld in September by certain of the royal councillors, and advised the provost and bailies that the king was kept a prisoner against his will, and that they must, on pain of treason, arm, become possessed of his person, and suffer him to pass out of Holyrood and into England. The privy council pronounced the document a forgery, and affirmed that the king's guard was not more numerous than was necessary. A year later an act of the council alluded to this time of the king's restraint and captivity in Holyrood House.

In the next autumn he was there as his own master, with Arran as his dominant minister. In November the city magistrates decided to protest against the excessive number of one hundred well-armed burghers, whom he had directed them to have continuously at Holyrood, for a space of time, as a guard. He desired in the following March that successive quarters of the town should, in rotation,

undertake the watch at the palace for twenty-four hours, and an ordinance was made accordingly.

Francis, Lord Bothwell, the nephew of the notorious earl, had begun a tumultuous career at court. On the 28th of November 1583 he engaged in a brawl with Lord Home, which was interrupted by Seton, Colonel Stewart, and others. It is said that when he was at the palace, later in the day, the king hung on his neck in affection; but as he was leaving at night he was charged to enter into ward at Linlithgow. His place of imprisonment was changed on the morrow for his own house, and several days later the king sent for him, and accused him of "many hard speeches." Lady Arran, with whose husband he had quarrelled, cried out for his head.

On the 30th of November there was great alarm at Holyrood, because Angus was about to pass from Dalkeith to the Firth of Forth, thence to go into ward beyond the Spey. The drum was beaten in the streets of Edinburgh, and the citizens charged to be ready to defend their sovereign at an hour's warning. The provost went to the palace, and, when he saw the king, remarked to him that the fields were foul, to which James answered grimly that they would be fouler after his dogs had been let loose. All this fear of an attack proved groundless.

In December the court was visited by Andrew Keith, a Scot in the counsels of the King of Sweden. He was, although of humble birth, "a gallant man of proportion and fashion"; and on the 15th of March he received at Holyrood, with all wonted solemnity, the title of Lord Dingwall.

In October 1584 the king announced his intention of again spending the winter at the palace; and of keeping only a moderate court, and forbearing too

frequent conventions of the nobles and other persons, for fear of the "inconveniences" of the pestilence. The citizens of Edinburgh were ordered to be ready to defend him against all treason, rebellion, or attempted violence, whenever they might be advertised by the firing of cannon or the ringing of the common bell of the town.

He made, in May 1587, a few months after his mother's execution, a whimsical attempt to end the perpetual feuds of his nobles. They had attended the Convention of Estates in great numbers; and on the 14th he entertained them at a banquet at Holyrood, drank their healths thrice over, and then called upon them to enter into a bond of brotherly love, vowing that he would be the mortal enemy of him who first broke it. On the next night he led them in procession from the palace to the castle; the gibbets were broken on the way; at the Tolbooth the prisoners were set free; and at the market-cross a table was found spread with wine, bread, and sweetmeats, and all pledged each other, to the sound of singing, trumpets, and cannons that fired from the castle. Only William, Lord Yester, refused to take his enemy's hand; and thus incurred immediate imprisonment in the castle. This is the scene which is described in "The Fortunes of Nigel." "'I mind it weel,' said the king, 'I mind it weel—it was a blessed day . . . and it was a blithe sport to see how some of the carles grinned as they clapped loofs together. By my saul, I thought some of them, mair special the Hieland chiels, wad have broken out in our own presence; but we caused them to march hand and hand to the cross, ourselves leading the way, and there drink a blithe cup of kindness with ilk other, to the stanching of feud, and perpetuation of amity. Auld John Anderson was

provost that year—the carle grat for joy, and the bailies and councillors danced bareheaded in our presence like five-year-old colts, for very triumph.'"

The following winter was spent by James at Holyrood in studying the Apocalypse, with a view to the signs of the year 1588, of which wonders had long been foretold by astrologers. On the 25th of May 1588, the levies of Edinburgh and Haddington were commanded to meet at the palace in order to accompany him on his expedition into Dumfriesshire.

In July he was again at Holyrood; and on the 10th, Bothwell and Sir William Stewart, Arran's brother, gave each other the lie in his presence. When he went, soon afterwards, over the water to Fife he left Bothwell behind him; and the earl, on the 30th, met his enemy in the High Street. A brawl ensued in which Stewart was slain; yet the king came back to the palace to find Bothwell still there, "as nothing effrayed."

In August Elizabeth's ambassador, Ashley, arrived with offers as large as was the fear of the Armada, and as fully realised. The king, in the following winter, was attended at the palace by Huntly and his faction; and in the pleasance behind the council-house Huntly and some of his friends were, on the 24th of May 1589, examined by James and certain councillors, as to their rebellion earlier in the spring.

In the beginning of 1590 preparations were in course for the reception of the king and his bride, Anne of Denmark. James wrote letters of instructions from Copenhagen: three portions of the palace, the new gallery quarter and the lodgings of the Bishop of Orkney and Lady Orkney, were to be set aside for the Danish commissioners and guests, and any further accommodation necessary was to be provided in

Kinloch's house, in which the Earl of Lennox had lodged in 1564. The work begun in Holyrood House was to be completed before the arrival of the king and queen. To this a sum of £1000, subscribed by Edinburgh to the tax lately levied on burghs, was devoted by the privy council; subject to a stipulation made by the town council that thus the citizens might be exempted from an equivalent contribution to the master of the household.

At about four o'clock on the afternoon of the 6th of May, James and his queen were escorted from Leith to Holyrood. The king and the nobles were on horseback; the queen drove in a Danish coach, drawn by eight horses richly apparelled in cloth of gold and purple velvet; and the townsmen of Edinburgh, Leith, and the Canongate were ranked in arms on either side of the road. When the palace was reached James dismounted, took the queen by the hand, and led her through the inner close to the great hall, and thence to her chambers which were richly hung with cloth of gold and silver. The coronation took place on the 17th. First of all, before the queen left her room, the title of Lord Thirlestane was conferred on the chancellor, and certain knights were dubbed. Then the procession passed from the palace to the chapel royal. They were led by the king's household, followed by the nobility, knights, and burgesses. After them came the ministers; and next Angus with the sword, Hamilton with the sceptre, and Lennox with the crown. The king followed with Athol, Montrose, Moray, and Mar who bore his robe royal. Behind these were the Lords Seton, Herries, Livingstone, and Ogilvie; and after them, between the English ambassador and the admiral of the Danes, the chancellor who carried the crown matrimonial. The queen was at the

end of the procession and was accompanied by the English ambassador's wife, the Countesses of Mar and Bothwell, and other ladies. Three sermons, in Latin, French, and English, and two short orations delivered by the ministers, formed the first part of the ceremony. The Duke of Lennox and the ladies then escorted the queen to a cabinet within the church. She was clothed in her robe royal and brought back to her chair, and the crown was placed on her head. Then Lady Mar loosened her dress, and Master Robert Bruce, one of the ministers, anointed her right arm, her forehead, and her neck. She received the sceptre from Hamilton and the sword from Angus; and then for a long time drums and trumpets sounded, and guns were fired from the castle. The procession left the chapel in the order in which they had entered it. Such was the first Protestant coronation which took place at Holyrood.

Manners had changed since James IV. entertained wedding guests. In 1590 fifteen feather beds were provided in the palace for strangers, Danes and others, from the 4th of May to the 18th of July, at a cost of 2s. a night for a bed; and other Danes were lodged outside the palace in eight chambers, each furnished with two feather beds, wax, and a candle.

Early in the next year measures were taken to prevent the extortions practised on the king's servants in the neighbourhood of his palaces. James ordained that his masters of the household should, within twenty-four hours of his arrival at one of these, fix the charges at which his servants must be entertained; and he directed the provost and bailies of Edinburgh, the Canongate, and other places, to see that ostlers and any accustomed to lodge men and horses conformed to such arrangement. Probably the increased number

of court dependents had placed them at the mercy of landlords comparatively few.

In the ensuing winter the Kirk curiously illustrated its conception of its own position. Masters Robert Pont, David Lindsay, and John Davidson went down to Holyrood on the 8th and again on the 10th of December, "to visit the king's house and try what negligence was in pastors and abuses in the family." On the second occasion they saw the king, and urged him to have Scripture read aloud at the hours of dinner and supper, and to dismiss the comptroller. Two years later three ministers were sent by the general assembly to admonish the queen on an over-fondness for dancing shared by her ladies.

The wild Earl of Bothwell made on the 28th of the month an attempt on the king's life. He arrived at Holyrood with a number of accomplices, almost all Border men, at about supper time. An entrance was effected through the stables of the Duke of Lennox, who thus incurred suspicion, and with the help of Margaret Douglas, Bothwell's wife. The invaders appear to have ranged violently through the palace, without a fixed plan and without even a knowledge of where the king was. They set fire to the door of his private chamber, and threatened his servants with death if they would not enable his discovery. James was not in his room: they began to hammer down the door of the queen's chamber, and then, either because it too was empty or because they were interrupted, they retreated; but in their flight they strangled some servants. James Erskine, son of the Master of Mar and the king's familiar servant, was "violently excluded." William Shaw, master stabler, and John and Patrick Shaw were slain. The common bell of Edinburgh rang, and the townsmen hastened to the

palace with their provost, to find that the earl had escaped, together with all his confederates except seven or eight who were subsequently hanged at the market-cross. Some doggerel was composed by James in gratitude to John or Patrick Shaw:—

> "Thy kyndnes kythit in lossing lyffe for me,
> My kyndnes on the friendis I utter sall.
> My perrell kendlit courage unto the;
> Myne sall reveng thy saikles famous fall:
> Thy constant service ever sall remayne
> Als fresh to me as if thou lived againe."

On the following day he publicly gave thanks in St. Giles's church for his delivery. The persons chiefly implicated in the attempt were James Douglas of Spot, Andrew Wauchope of Niddrie, John Colville of Strathurdie, William Stewart, once constable of Dumbarton, Hercules Stewart of Whitelaw and James Stewart, John Hamilton of Samuelstown, William Learmonth of the Hill, Robert Home, younger of the Heuch, George Auchincraw of East Reston and Patrick Auchincraw, Thomas Cranstoun of Morieston and his brother John, John Ormeston of Smailhome and Robert his son, Patrick Crumy of Caribdin, and David Orme of Mugdrum.

Bothwell continued to trouble the king's peace. In 1592 a letter fixed to the gates of the palace warned James of plots made against him. On the 3rd of February 1593 it was rumoured that the earl intended to make another attempt on Holyrood. The magistrates of Edinburgh secretly intimated to the citizens that, by the king's desire, they must that night come together in armour; and two hundred armed men went down to the palace before ten o'clock. The king thanked them for coming; but ordered them

to return to keep the town, and to leave three arquebusiers to watch the abbey.

The house of the Gowries, on the site of the monastic buildings granted to them by Queen Mary, communicated with the palace by a covered passage. On the night of the 23rd of July the Countess of Athol passed along it from the palace, to bid good-night to her mother Lady Gowrie; and on her way she admitted Bothwell and John Colville. They hid themselves behind the hangings in the king's antechamber, and Lady Athol locked the door between the rooms of the king and the queen. From two to three hundred men, probably of the house of Stewart to which Bothwell's mother had belonged, assembled outside the palace. In the morning Bothwell rapped rudely at the king's chamber door; and when it was opened entered with Colville, each of them with his drawn sword. The king was dressing; his clothes were loose, and "the points of his hose not knitted up." "Lo, my good bairn," said Bothwell, "you that have given out that I sought your life, it is now in this hand." The king would have fled by the door of the queen's room, but could not open it. Then he told his visitors that they might take his life, they would not get his soul. But Bothwell and Colville knelt down, laid their swords on the ground, and prayed for pardon. They protested that they came not to seek his Highness' life, but to ask his pardon for the raids of Holyrood and of Falkland; and they offered to "thole an assize" for witchcraft and for attempts on his life, and to follow only his commands. Lennox, Athol, and Ochiltree, all Stewarts, as well as Spynie and Dunipace, had arrived on the scene, and they interceded for the suppliants. This seeming humility did not deceive James; and, mindful

of the results of the Ruthven Raid, he declared that he would not live a dishonoured prisoner. Bothwell, still on his knees, kissed the hilt of his sword, and then tendered it to the king, bowing his head and flinging back his long hair. He was taken apart by James into a recess by the window.

In the meantime the common bell of Edinburgh had rung twice to call to arms the citizens, who however showed little enthusiasm. The provost and some hundred men went down to the palace and others followed slowly. Alexander Home of North Berwick and a few more gentlemen came below the king's window, and cried out to know how he did, offering to rescue him or to lose their lives. But the king from the window answered that he was no captive, but safe and well; he had expected this visit of Earl Bothwell; he had received fair promises of the earl; he would hold with the earl, as the earl held with him; and he asked the assembled men to retire a little while he consulted further. They went to the south-west corner of the close; but Home lingered beneath the window to engage in hot words with Bothwell, who presently was moved to protest that he had done, would do, and could do, as much in the king's service as any Home in the Merse, and that he would reckon with this Home another time. Then within the palace James, probably from his knowledge of the powers behind the conspirators, granted all their requests. The offences of Bothwell and his accomplices were forgiven; the dismissal of the chancellor Thirlestane and other ministers was promised; the conspirators might retire whither they would. He sent for the provost and bailies and told them that he wished the citizens to disperse; he hoped all would be well; and he appeared at the

window with the queen and gave further assurances. A new guard for the palace had however been appointed by Ochiltree; and Ochiltree, Lennox, and Spynie accompanied James when he rode to Falkland immediately afterwards. He returned on the 10th of August; but stayed only for the trial and acquittal of Bothwell on a charge of witchcraft.

On the 11th his escape from his captivity by the Stewart and Hepburn faction was planned to take place. The Hepburns were at feud with the Catholic Homes, who on this occasion were leagued with the Gordons and with Morton, the Douglas of Lochleven. Certain Erskines were also of the king's party, and two of his gentlemen, Leslie and Ogilvie. It was announced that he was to return to Falkland; but his true destination was Lochleven Castle, whither he was to ride while Home, in Edinburgh, attacked Bothwell's party. But early on the morning of the 11th Leslie was discovered as he stole through the park of Holyrood to bear the king's ring and a letter to Home. He was given, with Thomas and James Erskine and Ogilvie, into the charge of Ochiltree's guards; and Bothwell refused to leave James until he himself had been restored to his honours by act of parliament. Eventually the preachers and citizens of Edinburgh arranged a compromise, in virtue of which Bothwell and his chief opponents, Thirlestane, Home, and Glamis, agreed to avoid the court until the convention of parliament in November. The king then rode to Falkland.

The adventure of the 24th of July figures in the proclamation issued against Bothwell in 1594, after his final disgrace, as an "entering in his Majesty's presence in maist irreverent and barbarous manner."

On the 29th of September 1596, the nobility,

LOCHLEVEN CASTLE.

From an old engraving.

council, and estates were advertised that they must on the 28th of November next attend the baptism of the king's daughter at Holyrood. Many of them were, however, owing to the winter season, absent from the ceremony, which was performed without solemnity. Bowes, the English ambassador, held up the infant princess as witness, and named her Elizabeth after his queen. She was afterwards famous as the beautiful and unfortunate queen of Bohemia.

In January 1597 James was at Holyrood, in the midst of his task of reducing the Kirk to submission. At five o'clock on the evening of the 10th, as John Boge, master porter, stood in the twilight at the palace gate he was accosted by a stranger. "Sir, I have met with you weil, for I was seeking you; for I have a letter unto you from the minister of Kilconquhar in Fife, who, as you know, is heavily vexed for the king's sake and deprived of his office. He hath sent me unto you with this letter, which ye sall read and deliver it unto the king's Majesty, that the king may know more than he knoweth; and I sall come to you the morn, and seek an answer." John delivered the letter as the king was passing to supper, and James opened it immediately. When he had read it, he was so transported by anger that he could eat no food that night. It contained a free criticism of his government.

On the previous 17th of December that tumult had taken place in Edinburgh which was consequent on the rumour of a great Popish plot. It had resulted in the removal of the court from Holyrood and the Court of Session from the city, the abolition of Edinburgh's privileges as a capital; and the burghers were terrified by the danger of a declining trade. Early in 1597 the magistrates and town council

visited the king at the palace; they protested that they had committed no treason in connection with the disturbance, although in some points they had neglected their office. On the 20th of March they went to him again and reminded him of their past services and their present readiness to serve. He replied that he desired their submission not for treason, but for a failure to discharge their duty on the day of the tumult. Two days later they yielded. The magistrates and a number of citizens went in the morning to Holyrood, confessed on their knees that they had offended as the king said, and made a peace offering of 2000 marks. James received them with favours, and in the afternoon peace was proclaimed. On the next day he went to the council-house of Edinburgh and there ratified the reconciliation; and he drank to the council and called them his gossips. The bells of the city were rung; James was convoyed back to the palace through the West Port, amid a sound of trumpets and pipes and much merrymaking. He again entered Edinburgh on the 13th of April, when the town entertained him at a banquet, and once more escorted him back to Holyrood.

The king's third son, Robert, died on the 27th of May 1602, at the age of only four months. His body was secretly carried to Holyrood for burial.

There was soon afterwards a strange instance of the survival of the practice of trial by combat. An Italian accused Francis Mowbray of treason, and it was arranged that the two should fight hand to hand, on the 1st of January 1603, in the great close of Holyrood. The "barrasse" had been made and all preparations completed, when, a few days before the appointed date, news came from England that certain Scotsmen would certify the treason.

On the night of Saturday, the 24th of March 1603, Sir Robert Carey, who had ridden from London in less than three days, arrived at the gates of Holyrood with the news that Queen Elizabeth was dead. A few days later came the announcement from the privy council that James had been declared King of England. He left Holyrood on the 5th of April, and, during the remaining twenty-two years of his life, he visited it only once again, although he departed from his ancient kingdom with a promise that he would come to it every three years.

The queen brought Prince Henry to the palace from Linlithgow on the 28th of May. On the 31st she drove with him in a coach to St. Giles's church, and was accompanied by many English ladies, some in coaches and some on horseback. Great numbers of people gathered to see the prince. He and the queen set out for England on the 1st of June, with the Duke of Lennox and other gentlemen. Little Princess Elizabeth was unwell and remained at Holyrood until the 3rd, when she followed her mother by slow stages.

All the furniture of the palace was then apparently stored in the wardrobe or elsewhere. On the 19th of June, Montrose, as chancellor, together with the clerk of the king's register, went to Holyrood; and they found, beyond the contents of the wardrobe and "some boards, forms, and stools," "ane knok," or clock, in the council-house; two pieces of tapestry in the chamber above the queen's cabinet; a Turkey coverlet on the table in the outer chamber of the master of works; and, in his inner chamber, a fairly wrought pend for a bed, without head and back pieces, but with "courtings for the frontell" and the foot, a chair covered with purple velvet, the coverlet of a table made of

red velvet over white satin, and an old coverlet of "changing talfetie" for a bed. Two pieces of tapestry were lying in the passage which led to the "wild bestial." All these goods were delivered into the keeping of Thomas Fentoun, together with the door-key of the chamber in which the bell hung, and the tables and desks that stood in it.

In the sixteenth century Holyrood Palace is described as "most ample and superb," and as situated in "most pleasant gardens which a lake at the foot of the hill of Arthur's Seat closes." James VI. frequently hunted in the park of Holyrood; and there are records of payments to the keeper of the park and to the gardeners of the south and of the north gardens. In 1589 Thomas Fentoun, keeper of the park, had charge of the king's lion, tiger, "lucervis," and game-cocks, which doubtless were kept in the "wild bestial."

The topography of the palace and its grounds is made clearer by some royal grants of the monastic lands of Holyrood. In 1581 Adam, Bishop of Orkney, received the "south yairdis" of the canons, which included the garden of St. Anne and another garden, and which were bounded by a wall and ditch next to the king's woodland or park, a road leading to that woodland from the palace, the pond or stank of the gardens now granted, and the way between the postern of the monastery and the back gate or postern of the palace which was next to Lord Gowrie's house. Confirmation was given in 1582 to the bailiff of the Canongate, of a grant to him by the commendator of Holyrood of the ruinous buildings once the brewhouse and barn of the abbey and adjacent lands; all of them between a common way and a gate leading to the king's woodland, and a pond, on the north and the east; the stone wall of the woodland

on the south; and that of the king's garden on the west. The refectory called the New Frater, and the conventual kitchen and two cubicles above and below it, and two gardens, were confirmed in the same year to William, Lord of Ruthven. They were between the dormitory of the monastery on the west, the commendator's dwelling-place and the garden called the Siege of Troy on the east, the common passage to the western door of that garden on the south, and the southern wall or ditch of the conventual cemetery on the north. In 1592 the king granted to his "daily servant" Thomas Fentoun some land outside the "utter port of Halyrudhous," on the south side of the street, beside the lane which led to the royal stables and to the anterior gate of the tower called "lie foiryet tour," presumably the tower of the front gate.

In 1590 James, for the better provision of his household, augmented by his marriage, took into his own hands his parks in Edinburgh and elsewhere, and in 1597 all dispositions of the palace and park of Holyrood were cancelled by act of parliament. It is probable therefore that some rights over the park had been alienated. In 1607 it was in the possession of Lord Balmerino, president of the council and principal secretary of the kingdom, and he complained that certain persons had molested his tenants and servants by pasturing their bestial in it, by demolishing its dykes and gates, and by casting into it turf and other matter, to the injury of the grass. In 1610 tenants occupied the park, and employed it as arable and pasture land. Proclamation was ordered in 1607 at the market-cross of Edinburgh that none should make any spoil of the king's game, nor hunt nor slay hares with hounds, "girnis," shot or otherwise, within

six miles of the palace, under pain of imprisonment and fine. This appears to have revived an old prohibition.

The repair of a ruinous part of the palace was undertaken in 1604, and the lord secretary was empowered to assign to it workmen employed on any other enterprise.

It had become customary during the sixteenth century for the king to be accompanied, on occasions of the meeting of parliament, from Holyrood to the Tolbooth and back again, by the three estates, marshalled according to their rank, "rydand on horseback, cled in futemantle and other ornament, clothing and abulyiement requisitie." The order of their going was settled anew in July 1607; the procession was to be led by the "lords of parliament," after whom should come the bishops, and after them the earls, all two by two. The two archbishops were to follow, and behind them the marquesses, who should walk in front of the honours. Thus disposed the estates were directed to accompany his Grace from the palace to the parliament house, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 11th of August.

A visit of the Duke of Wurtemburg to Scotland was announced in 1608. James commanded that he should be lodged and entertained at Holyrood, and served by those who held office in the king's house; and Andrew Melville was instructed by the privy council to attend upon him.

On the 26th of November 1615, the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow took the oath of allegiance in the chapel royal, before divers of the nobility and council, members of the College of Justice, lords and gentlemen.

Fashion and trade languished in Edinburgh for

thirteen years for want of a court. In 1616, however, it was rumoured that the king would at last come to Scotland, and the report was confirmed by the repairs which were undertaken at Holyrood. James had announced his visit to the privy council for the early spring of 1617; and the preparations were inspired by an ambition that Scotland should not be shamed before the Englishmen who would come in his train. The council commissioned James Murray, master of the king's works, to carry out certain improvements, on which large sums of money were spent. He must demolish the roof and as much of the stone work as was necessary of the lodging known as the chancellor's above the upper gate, and rebuild it. The master steward's chamber was to be taken down and not built again, since it lacked form and proportion to the rest of the palace. The chamber and gallery called "Sir Roger Ashton's chamber" were to be rebuilt in more convenient form. The roof, joists, and walls of "Chancellor Maitland's kitchen," at the end of the "Dukis Transe," were to be renewed where necessary. The "toofalles" and walls must be removed from the bakehouse yard in order that it might form a perfect close.

The king ordered also the repair of the chapel royal, and its provision with desks, stalls, lofts, and other necessaries, "in decent and comely form." It was found that this work could not be carried out as perfectly as was desired by native craftsmen, and the deputy-treasurer was permitted to contract with Nicholas Stone, carver and citizen of London, by payment to him of £450 of English money, to set up a "parapane" wall, some desks, and other ornaments. Further, it was agreed to pay £200 to Matthew Gudrick, citizen and painter of London, for the paint-

ing and gilding of the chapel. Wooden statues of the apostles and the evangelists were carved and gilded, but caused such scandal that the bishops dissuaded the king from allowing use to be made of them. Organs were however brought to Holyrood. Musical services had been held there previously, for a luter was appointed to the chapel in 1601.

In October 1616, many craftsmen were at work at Holyrood, especially on the chapel. In the following February it was ordained that, owing to the urgency of the work, craftsmen might be compelled to come to Holyrood from any parts of the country. Letters of the council to the magistrates of Dundee, Dysart, Pittenweem, St. Andrews, Glasgow, Linlithgow, Culross, and Preston, therefore required that certain named masons, plumbers, wrights, and painters should be sent immediately from those places.

Proclamation was made in February 1616, at the market cross of Edinburgh, that none should hunt hares within eight miles of the palace, before September 1617. Robert, Earl of Lothian, was appointed king's gamekeeper in this area, with power to bring before the council all found killing wildfowl within it. In December 1616 the council agreed to buy a number of wedders, to be fed in Holyrood Park for the entertainment of the king. They ordered the keepers of the park and meadow to remove their stock from it; and covenanted with the tenants to do as much until Michaelmas 1617.

In March 1616, it was ordained that the causeway of the Canongate, between the palace and the Nether Bow, should be kept free of beggars.

The magistrates of the Canongate were directed to give to the council a list of all lodgings and stables in their town in which the king's train and followers

might be accommodated. They replied that all had already been secured by nobles, lairds, and gentlemen of Scotland. Proclamation was therefore made, in February 1617, that these provident persons would be disappointed, for the lodgings and stables would be reserved for the king's train. Alexander, Lord Elphinstone, was summoned before the council on the 27th of February, and asked if he would give up his house at Holyrood to the use of the king's suite during the approaching visit. He replied that this and all his other houses were at the king's service; but, since he purposed to attend his Majesty at Holyrood, he hoped it might please the king that a part of it should be reserved for his own lodging.

The king's long expected entry into Edinburgh was made on the 16th of May 1617. The usual pageants distinguished his reception; he passed from the city down to the palace, and there he was met by the professors and students of Edinburgh College, who presented him with some poems made in his praise. There were great men in his train: Lennox, for whom, like the king, Holyrood must have recalled strange scenes; Bacon, Arundel, Southampton, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Villiers, Earl of Buckingham, all curious as to this northern land and northern court whence their king had come; and Laud, who saw everything in its relation to his own policy. On the 17th, service was held in the chapel royal, "with singing of quiristours, surplices and playing on organes." The king crossed the Forth on the 19th, and was absent some ten days. It was announced that on his return he intended to hawk on the moors and other lands near the palace; and therefore a proclamation at the market cross of Edinburgh forbade any to slay wildfowl within ten miles of the city, during the

king's residence at Holyrood, under pain of a fine of £100 for each offence. On Whitsunday, the 8th of June, all noblemen, councillors, and bishops who were in Edinburgh, were commanded to be present at the chapel royal for the celebration of communion in the English form. On the 11th James made a ceremonious visit to Morton at Dalkeith; and arrangements were made for the conveyance thither of his luggage by the inhabitants of several parishes. Parliament was opened on the 17th, and the estates rode with the king, in their wonted order, from Holyrood to the Tolbooth. Special instructions were issued to the commissioners of the smaller baronies, who had apparently been remiss in their attendance, to accompany him on horseback and with foot-mantles. On the 19th, his birthday, James entertained his English and Scottish lords at a banquet at the castle which lasted from four to nine o'clock. Afterwards he came down to the palace; and the people then gathered round Holyrood to see an exhibition of fireworks and "pastimes." James left Edinburgh about the end of this month, and during the first fortnight in July his luggage was conveyed southwards by the inhabitants of various parishes in the Lothians.

On the 27th of July the king recommended to the council that, since he had bestowed so great expense on the repair of the palace and chapel of Holyrood, "some face of a court" should there be kept; that it should be the meeting place of the privy council, whose members should attend every Sunday at the sermon in the chapel, and that the ordinary service should be maintained in the chapel.

Councils had throughout the reign of James VI. been most often held at Holyrood. It was definitely constituted their meeting place by a proclamation at

the market cross of Edinburgh in 1618, confirmed by an injunction of 1626. In 1627, however, a special order of the king allowed the councillors to meet in Edinburgh during the winter. Parliaments had also sat at Holyrood with some frequency in the end of the sixteenth century.

The king's desire that all councillors should, when in Edinburgh, attend Sunday sermon in the chapel royal was again intimated to them in 1619, and special seats were reserved for the nobility, the council, and the Court of Session. The necessity to be present was irksome, because episcopal ritual was observed in the chapel at other times than that of the king's visit. Thus Christmas services were held there in 1617 and in 1618, and the organs were played. The demand for the attendance of the privy council and the Court of Session at sermon was repeated by Charles I. in 1627.

In 1619 a grant of property for life was made to William Couper, Bishop of Galloway and dean of the chapel royal, because he could no longer be commodiously lodged within the palace; and an agreement was concluded by which Christian Lindsay, the widow of William Murray, master of the king's carriage, quitted certain houses, which she occupied in the outer close.

In this year a visit to the palace of Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, was announced; and on the 9th of August Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, deputy treasurer, was ordered to deliver for his use to Sir Robert Stewart of Shillinglaw, a considerable quantity of plate, linen, and kitchen utensils, all to be returned before the 29th of the month.

The king was, both in 1620 and in 1621, expected in the following year; and therefore proclamation was

made that none should hunt nor hawk within six miles of Holyrood. The earlier prohibition was the more explicit, and forbade the killing of "pouttis" before the 10th of July, of partridges before the 15th of September, and of wildfowl or deer by any but noblemen, who must exercise moderation in their sport. Its application was not confined to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

On the 14th of June 1621, Sir Jerome Lindsay of Annatland was knighted in the king's chamber of presence at Holyrood by Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, lord high chancellor. Afterwards a sermon, preached by Adam, Bishop of Dunblane, was heard in the chapel royal; and then, in the chapel, the earl created Sir Jerome Lyon king at arms. He delivered to him his coat of arms, which was put on him, placed the crown on his head, and gave him his baton.

In 1624 it was ruled that the chapel royal should be served by sixteen prebendaries and musicians, six boys, an organist, and a porter. Each prebendary was to have an allowance of 200 marks, each boy half that amount, the organist 240 marks, and the porter £40. These salaries were to be provided out of the rents of the chapel, supplemented, when necessary, from the revenues of such vacant prebends and chaplainries as were in the king's hands. In the same year certain repairs of the chapel roof, the queen's tower, the king's gallery, and the chancellor's lodging were ordered.

The first notice of Holyrood under Charles I. concerns a quarrel, in 1626, between the Duke of Lennox, chamberlain, and John Achmowtie, master of the wardrobe, as to which of them should appropriate the mourning hangings of the palace. In July 1628 Charles announced that he would visit Scotland

for his coronation and the holding of a parliament, in the following September. Weighty affairs in England would render his stay short. He asked the council whether it would be "fittest and most conspicuous and convenient" for him to be crowned in the church of St. Giles or the chapel royal. They reported a few days later in favour of St. Giles's. On the 14th the hunting of hares with ratches or greyhounds within eight miles of Holyrood was forbidden on account of the approaching visit. It did not take place. A like prohibition as to hunting, in honour of a visit to take place in the ensuing spring, was made in February 1629. The bailies of the Canongate were ordered to keep the causeway between the Nether Bow and the palace free and clean of beggars; certain persons were appointed to survey the chapel and palace and report on necessary repairs; a thoroughfare through the churchyard of Holyrood, which had caused an accumulation of rubbish beside the chapel and beneath the windows of the gallery of the palace, was prevented by the closing of a stile. Another disappointment followed. In July 1630 the estates were appointed to meet at the palace. A visit of the king was again expected to take place in the spring of 1630, and in that of 1632; on the former occasion the council delegated to certain the fresh consideration of the question of his coronation in the chapel royal or in St. Giles's; in February 1629 and in November 1631 the earlier proclamation for the preservation of game was repeated.

At length, in 1633, Charles I. came to Scotland. His advent was announced in January, and on the 22nd of the month a commission reported to the council on the state of the chapel royal, in which the king had now decided to be crowned. The council had already, in 1626, complained of its ruinous state.

The masters of the works were instructed to take down the old window on the east gable in the great arch, and to build on it a fair new window of good stone-work, and a window at the eastern end of the north aisle; to build up the north-western steeple with stone, timber, and lead, so that it might receive a peal of bells; to repair the south-western steeple, the great west door, and the west gable; to strike out lights in that gable, and to take down its two turnpikes and repair and roof them; to remove all lofts and desks; to remedy defects of pillars; to complete the plastering of the north aisle and make it conform to the south; to provide materials for erection of the throne and other degrees of honour. Other work was undertaken on the palace. It was ordered that, for the king's more commodious access to his north garden, a door should be struck through the north side of the wall of the great tower of the palace, between the two round towers. Owing to their exceptional charges the masters of the work were granted for the months of March, April, and May an exemption from the terms of the contract by which they held office, and received instead occasional advances of money from the deputy treasurer. The old inhibition as to the hunting of hares within eight miles of Holyrood was made on the 22nd of January. On the 31st all dwellers in the palace and in the castle were directed to remove themselves and their belongings. Warning was given by proclamation, in May and previously, that any who had engaged lodgings and stables in the borough of the Canongate would be disappointed, as all accommodation had been reserved for the king's train and followers. The magistrates of Edinburgh and the Earl of Roxburgh, as superior of the Canongate, were ordered to provide sand in abundance with which to cover the streets;

"some honest man with ane kairt and horse" was to remove refuse from the public ways; and its deposit in them was temporarily forbidden; the heads of malefactors were taken down from the gates.

On the 15th of June Charles I. entered Edinburgh. He was met at the Long Gait at one o'clock by the nobility, who accompanied him into the town. The procession was led by the lords, followed by the bishops, the earls and viscounts, the two archbishops, the lord chancellor and the treasurer, the almoner and the master of requests, and the usher who preceded the Lyon king at arms and certain of his brethren. Behind came the lord chamberlain, and at his right hand the Earl of Errol, who bore the sword in its sheath. The king followed; and the Marquess of Hamilton came a little behind him, and, as master of the horse, led the horse of state. The town of Edinburgh was ranked on either side of the street; and the pageants which honoured the reception were such as had not been seen "for many ages." Thus Charles came through the city and down to "Halyrudhous." He brought with him a very brilliant company, amongst whom Bishop Laud was conspicuous. He slept at the castle on the night of the 17th of June; but otherwise he remained at Holyrood until the 1st of July, and also from the 10th to the 13th of that month.

The coronation took place in the chapel on the 18th of June, and the ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Brechin, assisted by the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishops of Moray, Dunkeld, Ross, and Dunblane. All these wore the rochet and sleeves; and a table had been decorated in the manner of an altar, clasped books and lighted candles were used, the bishops were seen to bow when they passed a piece of tapestry on which the Crucifixion was depicted. The

Bishop of Moray had been constituted almoner; and he threw out among the people certain silver pieces struck in honour of the occasion. The riding of parliament was the next event. In the beginning of July the provost and bailies of Edinburgh and other boroughs were instructed that James Liddell, sergeant of his Majesty's pastry, and Thomas Spence, Crystal Russel, and Thomas Stennop, royal bakers, might impress as their assistants, while the king was in the country, such skilled and able persons as they should name. The arrangements for the transport of the king's luggage were like those made in 1617.

In May 1634 Charles desired the council to receive communion in the chapel royal on the first Sundays in July and December.

For more than thirty years Holyrood Palace had stood outside the main current of history. The events in its story which had reflected greater happenings had been isolated and had had little sequence. It was to be again the centre for actions of wider import.

In 1637, after the riot consequent on the attempt to impose Laud's liturgy on Scotland, the king commanded the council to hold their session at Linlithgow. They obeyed by deliberating there for one day, and then returning to Holyrood. Hamilton was at the palace in 1638, when he was acting as intermediary between Charles and the Covenanters. In December, when the imminence of war was undoubted, he loaded one of the king's ships, called the *Swallow*, with the royal plate, tapestry, and other valuables from Holyrood, together with his own plenishing from Hamilton, and sent them to London. The king announced his intention of being present at the general assembly and parliament of 1639; but on the 3rd of July an attack was made in the streets of Edinburgh on the carriages

of Kinnoul and of the lord treasurer Traquair. The occupants escaped with difficulty to Holyrood; and the king embraced the excuse for not risking his person in the city. In December 1640 Traquair, on his return from a visit to the king, took the crown, sword, and sceptre from Holyrood, where they had lain since last the king rode the parliament, and transferred them to the greater security of the castle.

On the 14th of August 1641, Charles entered Edinburgh for the last time. He was met by sundry Scots nobles and convoyed through the city to the palace, hearing on the way a speech from the provost and bailies, who delivered to him the keys of the town. They found him inattentive and "somewhat melancholious after his travel, coming all the way post by coach." There were not more than a hundred persons in his train. In the first part of his stay a show of loyalty almost convinced him, in spite of the fervour of Protestantism, that all was going well; but the mysterious affair of "the Incident," which brought a crisis, occurred in October. It was alleged afterwards that a plot existed to inveigle Argyll, Hamilton, and Lanark into a drawing-room in the palace, on the night of the 11th, on the pretext that the king wished to speak to them. Two lords were then to enter the room from the garden, and were to be followed by a large company who should slay or kidnap the three lords entrapped. Charles himself told the sequel to the estates on the following day. "Yet, my lords, I must needs tell you a very strange story. Yester night my Lord Hamilton came to me, I being walking in the garden, with a petition of very small moment, and thereafter in a philosophical and parabolical way, such as he sometimes had used, he began a very strange discourse to me." He asked leave to depart from

the court because his enemies had calumniated him to the queen; but his true motive was due, according to later assertions, to the discovery of the plot; and he, his brother Lanark, and Argyll, retired on the 12th to his house of Kinneil. The public inquiry which the king demanded was not accorded; the result of "the Incident" was the dominance of Argyll and his party and the fall of Montrose.

On the 17th of November, Charles and his estates rode the parliament. Afterwards the king was escorted back to the palace; and he then "frankly" banqueted the nobles "in royal and mirrie manner," while the castle fired a salute of thirty-two shot. He left Holyrood and Edinburgh for England on the next day. Hamilton, now a duke, took up house at the palace in July 1642, when the general assembly had met. He had about him a strong guard, composed of friends and servants, and lived in some state. He was regular in his attendance at the council, where, according to a hostile witness, "he, the chancellor, the Marquess of Argyll, and Lord Balmerino and some others, misguided the miserable kingdom."

When Cromwell occupied Edinburgh in 1650 a number of English foot were quartered at Holyrood; and on the 13th of November the greater part of the palace was destroyed by fire, "whether by chance or otherwise one day will reveal." In February 1652 the commissioners of the English parliament ordered the royal arms to be removed from the building. The custody of the house and park were conferred in 1657 on a certain Clay. In 1658 the council of state advised that the late king's house, called "Hallirude House," should be repaired at the public cost, and the work was begun in that year. In September

1659 the front part of the palace had been built and repaired; in November the whole was said to be completed.

The commissioner of Charles II., the Earl of Middleton, arrived at Holyrood on the last day of 1660. On New Year's day 1661 he rode the parliament; and the estates were so richly clad in gold or silver lace, silk, satin, and velvet, and gorgeous foot-mantles, that they seemed rather princes than subjects. All the nobles, barons, and gentry wore feathers and bands on their hats, and were accompanied by liveried lackeys and servants. The Earl of Glencairn, as chancellor, rode first to the parliament house, and was followed, in about an hour's time, by nobles, gentry, and burgesses, who preceded the commissioner; by that official; and by those who rode after him, Lyon king at arms with his heralds and pursuivants, Hamilton and Montrose, and Crawford, Sutherland, and Mar, who bore the honours. The procession was accompanied by trumpeters. That night at the palace most of the nobility of the kingdom supped with Middleton. He was served alone at a table, as a prince, and received the cup from Athol, who knelt and who tasted the drink before he tendered it. Here, as elsewhere, there was a reaction against the rigorous plainness of the Commonwealth.

On the 7th of January the body of Montrose was carried from Boroughmuir where it had been ignominiously laid. It was wrapped in curious cloths and placed in a coffin which was borne, under a canopy of rich velvet, by the young Marquess of Montrose, and by Athol, Mar, Seaforth, and other peers. Two hundred gentlemen on horseback, the town of Edinburgh, and many thousands more provided an escort. Colours flew, drums beat, trumpets sounded, muskets

cracked, and the cannon of the castle roared. At the Tolbooth the head of the marquess was placed beside the body, amid a great acclamation of joy. Thence the company went to the chapel royal and there laid the coffin in an aisle, pending further orders from king and parliament. The remains of Hay of Dalgetty were brought with those of Montrose.

The king's coronation in London was celebrated in Edinburgh on the 23rd of April. Some hundred and twenty lifeguardsmen, bravely mounted, their carbines bound to their saddles, and their naked swords in their hands, came as outriders from the parliament house to the palace. The commissioner and nobles followed in seventeen coaches, and at Holyrood partook of a feast.

A long procession bore the remains of Montrose from the chapel royal to St. Giles's church on the 17th of May; the way was guarded on either side by the towns of Edinburgh and the Canongate. The lifeguardsmen rode first; then came twenty-six young boys, clad in long mourning garments, who carried the arms of the dead man. The magistrates of Edinburgh followed in mourning habit, and then all burgesses and barons who sat in parliament. Then came a gentleman in bright armour, who was preceded by a trumpeter in a new suit of the marquess's livery, and who had beside him a led horse. Next eighteen gentlemen carried on the points of staves long banners of honour, or the marquess's gloves or spurs, or parts of his armour. A led horse, covered with the rich embroidered mantle in which Montrose and his ancestors had ridden the parliament, followed, together with a lackey who bore arms on his breast and back. Then came the flower of the nobility in good order; and then all the heralds and pursuivants in coats of

arms, some with several honours in their hands. A led horse, covered with black, followed, and after him the Lyon king with the coat of arms. Then a number of the marquess's friends, in mourning dress, carried his parliament robe, a crown resting on a velvet cushion and covered with crape, and other tokens. The coffin was immediately preceded by six trumpeters, playing, and was borne, under a rich pall, by lords and noblemen. It was followed by many noble ladies in mourning. The commissioner came behind them in a coach covered with black and drawn by six horses all clad in mourning. In the boot Lord Ramsay, bare-headed, carried the commission. All the bells of Edinburgh and the Canongate rang during the whole time of the procession.

Behind it ten gentlemen, who carried long flags and other honours on the ends of staves and who were followed by two trumpeters playing, preceded the coffin of Dalgetty which was borne by honourable gentlemen "with many epitaphs and other painted papers."

On the 7th of May 1662 the bishops were consecrated in the chapel royal, and care was taken to admit to the ceremony none who had not a passport.

In this period music appears to have become fashionable at Holyrood. The commissioner in 1662 arrived at the palace, for the holding of a parliament, on the afternoon of the 4th of May; and his dinner on the next day was enlivened by five trumpets, five viols, two base viols, and a kettledrum. The life-guards were in attendance on horseback. On the 25th of September 1663 the Earl of Rothes, as commissioner, crowned Sir Charles Erskine Lyon king at arms, in the chair of state at Holyrood and to the sound of trumpets and kettledrums. The Lyon king

was richly dressed in purple velvet and a coat of arms, and wore a gold chain about his neck; and he duly received the crown and baton. Heralds and pursuivants in coats of arms were present. After the ceremony the earl feasted all the company while music was provided by "sundry sorts" of instruments.

In 1640 the hereditary keepership of Holyrood Palace and of its yards, orchards, bowling greens, and parks, with all attendant profits and the power to appoint under-keepers, deputies, gardeners, and other officers, was granted in tail male to James, Duke of Hamilton. This grant and others to the heirs of the duke were ratified by act of parliament in 1669, and the Dukes of Hamilton are still hereditary keepers.

It appears that Cromwell's repairs of the palace were inadequate, for what was practically a rebuilding was begun in 1672. The design was that of Sir William Bruce, surveyor general to the king, and incorporated the west front erected by Cromwell. It was executed by Robert Mylne, the king's master mason. An Englishman who visited Scotland in 1699 stated that the Scots anticipated that when their palace at Edinburgh had been completed the king would "leave his rotten house at Whitehall and live splendidly amongst his own countrymen."

The precincts of Holyrood had acquired the privileges of sanctuary, and debtors frequently fled to them in order to escape liability to arrest. This exemptness from the scope of the law appears to have been consequent on an act of 1593 which forbade the wounding of persons in the king's palace or chamber when he was present, and on the obvious inconvenience of allowing in the king's residence the disturbance which might accompany an arrest. In 1678 the council decreed that debtors to the king in respect of excise,

customs, feu duties or other dues, should not enjoy security at Holyrood.

The Duke of Monmouth arrived in Edinburgh, on his mission to quell the rebels in the west, on the 18th of June 1679. He was very honourably entertained and immediately received into the privy council. He joined the army on the 19th and it is probable that he slept at Holyrood on the previous night, if indeed the building was in a state to afford him shelter.

The works must have been essentially completed when on the 25th of October 1680 the Duke and Duchess of York were escorted from the water-gate to the palace. Their way was guarded by two or three thousand of the best citizens; and in the outer court of Holyrood they were received by several companies of the king's guards. In the grand hall they were met by the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow and other great ecclesiastics, and they received compliments from the primate who spoke for the orthodox clergy of the land. The lieutenant governor of the castle then delivered his keys to the duke.

For the next eighteen months a court of much stateliness was maintained at the palace. When allowance has been made for the animus of Protestant witnesses it appears to have been welcome to the majority of the people, at least in its beginning. Five days after the arrival the Bishop of Edinburgh and all the clergy of the city and its neighbourhood came to the palace in their canonical habits, and kissed the duke's hand. The bishop, in the name of all the orthodox, expressed satisfaction in the safe arrival of James and assured him of prayers for the king and his line. When the courts of justice met on the 2nd of November, members of the college came to the palace

in a great company, clad in their gowns and ushered by their macers, and they also kissed the duke's hand. The lord president of the Court of Session then complimented him on behalf of all the lawyers of the kingdom. Thereafter James was saluted in like manner by the lords commissioners of the king's justiciary, clad in their scarlet gowns, and by members of their court whose greeting was expressed by the lord justice clerk.

On the 17th of July 1681 the Lady Anne arrived at the road of Leith and proceeded to Holyrood. Nine days later John Leslie, Duke of Rothes, once commissioner, died in the chancellor's lodging at the palace. His body was carried to the High Church and thence conveyed to the chapel royal in great state and splendour. On the 23rd of August it was taken to Leith on its way to burial at Leslie. The parliament at which the Duke of York was commissioner was ridden with much pomp and magnificence on the 28th of July. The birthday of the duchess was celebrated early in October, and that of the duke on the 14th, when it is said that there were more "solemnities and bonfires" than were used in honour of the king.

The 15th of November was the birthday of the queen and was observed by the court with great festivities. Guns were fired and bonfires made. To the scandal of the saints the Lady Anne and the maids of honour, assisted by none, acted before the duke and duchess and other company a comedy called "Mithridates, King of Pontus." A Protestant chronicler makes the comment that "the very heathen Roman lawyers declared scenics and stage players infamous."

James sailed from Leith to England on the 6th of March 1682, but left his wife and daughter in Scotland and returned to them in May. The final

departure of the duke, the duchess, the Lady Anne, and all their court and retinue was made on the 15th of May.

In moving some seats the discovery was made, in the following January, of the vault at the south-eastern corner of the chapel in which were buried James V. and Queen Magdalen, Jean Stewart, Countess of Argyll, his natural daughter, and another variously identified as Darnley and Riccio. The find excited much interest.

The amusing set of portraits in the hall at Holyrood date from the year of the accession of James VII. "In our gallery of the abbey," says a contemporary writer, "there is set up the pictures of our one hundred and eleven kings since Fergus I., 330 before Christ, which make a very pretty show, and the eminenter of them are done *ad longum*. They have guessed at the figures of their faces before James I. They got help by those pictures that were used at Charles I.'s coronation in 1633, where they all met and saluted him, wishing that as many of their race might succeed him in the throne as had preceded him."

In this reign Holyrood figures conspicuously, as formerly in the time of Mary, as the place in which the sovereign maintained the Roman Catholic worship. The chancellor, the Earl of Perth, spent in 1685 £8000 on the purchase of altars, candlesticks, sacerdotal garments, and ornaments for the chapel royal. On his return from England in December he brought them with him, in spite of laws which permitted the seizure of such articles by the customs officers. Next year he established at Holyrood a private chapel at which the mass was celebrated, and "which was not kept so privately but that many frequented it."

There was a riot in consequence: the mob broke into the chapel and defaced it to the extent of their ability; and Perth, who feared for his life, escaped in disguise. The people were dispersed by the guards. But the warning was not accepted by the government. In August 1686, James wrote to the council that the chapel royal had been established for the more decent and secure exercise of Catholic rites in Edinburgh, and that a number of chaplains and others had been appointed to serve it, and were committed to the especial protection of the councillors. Such was the foundation of the "Jesuits' College" at Holyrood, an object of bitter resentment. The chapel royal had always served a double purpose; it had been not only the chapel of the kings, but also first the church of the abbey, and afterwards the parish church of the Canongate. At this time it was further occupied by the "French minister's congregation," evidently a Huguenot community. But in 1687 the latter were ordered to worship in the High School or the common hall, and the inhabitants of the Canongate were sent to the Lady Yester kirk. The chapel royal was thus devoted entirely to Roman Catholic services. It was especially associated with the knights of the order of the Thistle and St. Andrew, which James had revived.

In 1687 and 1688 a school was established in connection with the chapel. In this boys were instructed gratis in Greek, Latin, poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, and other subjects. The teaching was professedly undenominational: pupils of either faith were accepted, and the rules disavowed all purpose of tampering with their belief or of obliging them to take part in religious exercises. But it is evident that the design was to create a rival, formidable because it asked no fees, to those nurseries of Pro-

testant zealots, the High School and Edinburgh College. The school hours were from a quarter to eight until half-past ten, and from a quarter to two until half-past four. The rest of the day was allotted to home study.

The intensity of the feeling aroused by these Catholic institutions was revealed in 1688. People who walked in the park and in St. Anthony's yards on Sunday the 9th of December were debarred from their usual short cut through the precincts of the palace by sentries, who challenged them from closed gates, behind which they saw cannons pointed and armed men drawn up in the courtyard. Evidently those at Holyrood realised the danger of their position; and on the next day the Catholic chancellor, Perth, left the palace with his family. At twilight men were gathering in the street; there was a wild rumour afloat that parliament meant to burn the town; and certain had possessed themselves of drums and beaten them in all quarters of the city, to the alarm of the inhabitants. The usual mob was reinforced by a detachment of boys, students of the college and apprentices. Nothing, however, occurred to employ their zeal for defence against oppression; they must have had the usual reluctance to end flatly their demonstration, and when it was suggested that they should go down to Holyrood and burn the Popish chapel they seized eagerly the outlet for their mood. They were armed with staves and torches, and with their drums they marched eastwards to the Canongate.

In the palace a Captain John Wallace was in command of some hundred and twenty men raised by the council. When he perceived the approaching rabble he sent out a sergeant to warn them that if

they did not retire he would fire. They came on notwithstanding, and presently a volley from within the gates killed about a dozen and wounded others.

It was reported thereupon that the garrison of the palace were butchering the inhabitants of Edinburgh. The matter had a seriousness which induced some discontented gentlemen to join issue with the rioters; and Athol, Tarbet, and Breadalbane, on behalf of the council, signed a warrant which summoned Wallace, in the king's name, to surrender Holyrood. A great company then marched down to the palace. They were led by the trained bands of the town under Captain Graham; behind them came the gentlemen; and last the provost and magistrates in their official robes, who headed a mob of several thousands. Near the palace a halt was made, and heralds and pursuivants were sent forward to deliver the warrant to Wallace. On the ground that it had not proceeded from a full quorum of the council he refused to obey it. Firing began; the magistrates and the gentlemen sought cover, and the issue was left to the trained bands and the mob and to the garrison. It was decided by a stratagem of Graham, who with some of his men contrived to enter the palace by a back way. Wallace saw himself attacked from before and behind, and conformed to the conventions of the inglorious incident: he escaped. His men, when they found themselves deserted, threw down their arms and begged for quarter; and by their defencelessness they revived the ardour of the gentlemen and the rabble, who rushed in upon them, killed some, and took captive others, of whom many died in prison of wounds and hunger. The mob then invaded the palace: they demolished, in so far as they could, the private chapel; they plundered the

house of the priests, destroyed their printing-press, and rifled the school; they brought out to the close the timber-work, the books, and all else on which they could lay hands, and made a bonfire. They sought for the images, and found them at last in an oven of which the opening was concealed by an old cupboard. These they carried in procession through the streets of the town and back to Holyrood, and then they burnt them in the abbey close. They entered the chapel royal, razed the new work which had but just been completed, tore up the marble pavement, and demolished all they could find. They broke open the royal vault and seized the skulls of Queen Magdalen and of Darnley. They rifled the chancellor's lodging, and finally opened his cellar and made themselves drunk with his wine. One account states that only the goods they purloined escaped the fire; another that they burnt all and carried off nothing. At all events they wrought very great devastation.

For the next half century the history of Holyrood was comparatively uneventful. In May 1689 the committee of estates ordained that the park should, until the 11th of June, be kept for the use of the household troops and the dragoons in the king's service. On the 15th of April 1690 the high commissioner went from the palace to open parliament at about eleven o'clock in the morning; and was followed by a splendid train of coaches, in which were the nobility and gentry, and by the life-guards. The ancient ceremony of riding the parliament had thus been modified approximately to the present form of the opening of the general assembly. In the parliament of 1696 certain regulations were made, under which debtors who found sanctuary at Holy-

rood could not escape bankruptcy. In 1705 we hear of an interview at the palace between the Jacobite agent, Colonel Hooke, and the Duke of Hamilton. Two years later, when aversion from the Union was most intense, this duke was huzzaed by the apprentices and the populace as he passed from the parliament house to Holyrood; and the commissioner was greeted by curses and reviling, and found it necessary to have his coach closely surrounded by the horse-guards.

In all the history of Holyrood there is no episode more romantic than that of the last court held there by a Stewart, one of the race with whom it must always be connected.

On the morning of the 17th of September 1745, Charles Edward led his army towards Edinburgh, and was met by vast crowds who convoyed him in triumph to the palace, along the road which leads past St. Anthony's well. The Duke of Perth rode on his right and Lord Elcho on his left hand; his company, of whom almost all were in Highland dress, appeared much jaded. An eye-witness describes him as a tall, slender young man, some five feet ten inches in height, high nosed and long visaged, with large rolling brown eyes, and with red hair concealed at the time beneath a light periwig. "He was in Highland habit, had a blue sash, wrought with gold, that came over his shoulder, red velvet breeches, a green velvet bonnet with a white cockade and a gold lace about it; being in his boots I could not observe his legs; he had a silver-hilted broadsword." When he reached the palace at about midday it seemed as though the whole population of Edinburgh had assembled to greet him. All joined in a loud huzza; and he "discovered great satisfaction," and smiled frequently. He was observed to command great respect from his forces, and

frequently to address the O'Sullivan and Mr. Murray; and it is said that his speech was like that of an Irishman. He was accommodated in the lodging of the Duke of Hamilton.

Two days later the prince set out to meet Cope, and there ensued his victory of Prestonpans. It was after this event that, for six weeks, the ancient splendours of Holyrood were revived. Gentlemen of the prince's army, those whom business brought to attend him, and many others, were gathered together by duty, affection, or curiosity. It was so long since there had been a court in Scotland, that this one attracted people from all parts of the country, and soon it was very brilliant. It did not even lack a sham ambassador: on the 14th of October "M. du Boyer, a French person of quality, arrived at Holyrood House with different despatches from the French court. He was said to have a public character." "Everybody was mightily taken with the prince's figure and personal behaviour." The court had the strange carelessness which often characterises whatever has least elements of permanence. "One would have thought the king was already restored, and in peaceable possession of all the dominion of his ancestors, and that the prince had only made a trip to Scotland to show himself to the people and receive their homage: such was the splendour of the court, and such the satisfaction that appeared in everybody's countenance." The prince paid almost daily visits to the camp at Duddingston, and sometimes spent the night there; he could not otherwise have kept the Highlanders together. He left Holyrood on the evening of the 31st of October; and an "infinite crowd" of people assembled to bid him farewell, and grieved for his departure as much as they had rejoiced in his coming. They were filled

with foreboding, "affected with the dangers" to which they believed that the prince would be exposed.

On the 30th of January 1746, at three o'clock in the morning, Cumberland arrived at the palace. He had travelled from London in five days, and was attended by Athol, the Earl of Albemarle and his son, Lord Bury, Lord Cathcart, and other officers. In spite of the hour and the unusual cold numbers of people were in the streets to greet him, and he was met by the ringing of bells. He slept in the room occupied by Prince Charles, rose at eight o'clock, and was then waited upon by soldiers and general officers, who crowded to see him, and by such of the nobility and lords of session as were present in Edinburgh. At about one o'clock the presbytery of Edinburgh and all the ministers who were in town came in procession to the palace and kissed his hand. They were followed by the masters of the university, who walked in gowns behind their mace. Thereafter the duke walked into the close and inspected its sixteen pieces of cannon, and as he passed through the gate drums sounded and a loud huzza was raised. He returned to the palace to dine, and was afterwards engaged in a council of war. At nine on the following morning he entered Lord Hopetoun's coach, and then drove up the Canongate to join the troops.

Prince Frederick of Hesse came to Holyrood on the 9th of February, and was saluted at his entry by the guns of the castle. At midday he received congratulations from the chief inhabitants of the town; and at night he was elegantly entertained by the lord justice-clerk. During the month of his stay at the palace much honour was paid to him, and several balls and concerts, given in his honour, were distinguished by "numerous appearances of nobility and gentry of

both sexes, elegantly attired." On the 18th of February he met Cumberland at Leith pier: the whole company proceeded in coaches to the palace, where the two princes dined in public. Their conference on military matters followed, and Cumberland returned to the camp at nine on the next morning, and was saluted at his departure, as he had been on his arrival, by the castle guns. On the 21st of February, the eve of the birthday of his wife, the British princess Mary, an entertainment of particular splendour was provided for Prince Frederick. The Hessians defiled to replace the English troops between the 23rd of February and the 5th of March, and on the latter date the prince, in a coach and in stately manner, left Edinburgh.

On the night of the 21st of July, Cumberland, then on his way from Fort Augustus to London, again slept at Holyrood.

In the late eighteenth century there was once more the semblance of a court at the palace. The *Moniteur Universel* of January 1796 contained a sarcastic announcement that the King of England had granted the "sad castle of Holyrood in Edinburgh" to the comte d'Artois, who had resolved there to await his triumphant return to France, since the place had all the advantages of a sanctuary for debtors. "Monsieur," afterwards Charles X., arrived at Leith with his suite on the 6th of the month. He chose to be received in a private manner, and drove quietly to the rooms which had been prepared for him in haste. On the following day and on the 11th he held a levée, and it was announced that he would see company on every Monday and Thursday. The royal suite of apartments in the right wing of the quadrangle was made ready for him. Monsieur was joined

by his sons, the ducs d'Angoulême and de Berry, of whom the former arrived on the 21st of January. In February he received at the palace a dozen royalist French officers who brought news of affairs in Brittany. This little court did much for several years to give brilliance to Edinburgh society. There is particular mention of the patronage by the duc d'Angoulême of performances at the Royal Theatre. That prince left Scotland in September 1797, his brother in September 1798. Monsieur and his suite set out from Holyrood for England on the 5th of August 1799. Before his departure the count addressed a letter to the provost and magistrates of Edinburgh :—

"GENTLEMEN,—Circumstances relative to the good of the service of the king my brother, making it requisite that I should leave this country, where, during my residence, I have constantly received the most distinguished marks of attention and regard, I should reproach myself were I to depart without expressing to its respective magistrates, and through them to the inhabitants at large, the grateful sense with which my heart is penetrated for the noble manner in which they have seconded the generous hospitality of his Britannic Majesty. I hope I shall one day have it in my power to make known in happier moments my feelings on this occasion, and express to you more fully the sentiments with which you have inspired me, the sincere assurance of which time only permits me to offer you at present.

"(Signed) CHARLES PHILIP."

In 1822 Holyrood was visited by George IV., the first reigning sovereign since Charles I. to come to the palace. He arrived at about half-past one on the 15th of August, received the provost and the town

council, and left after several hours for Dalkeith, where he was lodged. On the 19th he held at the palace a court and closet levée, when certain ecclesiastical addresses were presented to him. A drawing-room took place on the 23rd in one of the rooms lately occupied by the Bourbons. The occasion had had no precedent since the seventeenth century; and the liveried attendants in the courtyard and quadrangle, the dragoons who kept clear the avenues of the palace, and the archers who formed a guard of honour in the corridors, were very impressive to the citizens. The drawing-room was largely attended; "the gentlemen were mostly in military dresses; but the ladies looked to great advantage. They are in general taller than the ladies of England, and their rich plumes of ostrich feathers were exhibited with superior effect. Dresses were mostly white satin, tastefully ornamented with a profusion of llama." After this visit the buildings of the palace were renovated.

There is no record that in "happier moments" Charles X. manifested gratitude to Edinburgh. Instead he had again to accept the hospitality of the city. In July 1830 he was expelled from his kingdom; and in October the British government granted to him the use of all vacant apartments in Holyrood Palace. He lived there with his suite under the title of comte de Ponthieu; and other rooms in the palace were apportioned to his grandson, the duc de Bordeaux and comte de Chambord, who was afterwards known to his adherents as Henry V., and who died in 1883. He also was attended at Holyrood by a suite. The deposed king of France was at this time more than seventy years old, and had yielded himself entirely to those religious exercises which occupied the end of his life. He wore sackcloth next his skin, fasted and

prayed much, and frequently imposed on himself, as a penance, the observance of a period of silence. Holyrood must indeed have been a "sad palace" while he lived in it, although it is said that he still took pleasure in walks and sport, and that he often received members of his order, like him exiled from France. He left Holyrood with his family for Görtz in Austria in 1834, and his death occurred two years later.

In this period lodgings in the palace appertained to the Duke of Hamilton as hereditary keeper, to the Duke of Argyll as master of the household, to Lord Breadalbane in virtue of a royal warrant granted in 1781, to Lady Strathmore, previously Lady Campbell of Ardkinlass, by force of another warrant received in 1815. Rooms had been in 1678 apportioned to the deputy keeper, but were entirely given up to the suite of the comte de Ponthieu. All these persons probably lived in the palace from time to time.

Queen Victoria did not enter Holyrood in 1842, when she came to Edinburgh for the first time. She spent a night there in 1854; and in 1872 she stayed with Prince Leopold and Princess Beatrice from the 14th to the 16th of August in a suite of rooms newly decorated for her reception. In 1876 she was again at Holyrood when she came to Edinburgh to unveil the statue of the Prince Consort; and in 1886 when she visited the International Exhibition.

King Edward held a drawing-room, which was attended by many Scottish people, at the palace in May 1903. He did not stay at Holyrood, but was the guest of the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith.

With such rare exceptions Holyrood has come to be, except for a short period in every year, only a place of beauty and of many historical associations.

Annually, however, in May, it assumes a ghostlike semblance of its ancient state. The lord high commissioner resides in it, holds in it a very simple court, and drives from it in procession up the Canongate and the High Street to open the general assembly, as once the kings set out to ride the parliament. He holds a levée, to which the grave and ancient rooms of the palace lend grace, although it is a sham levée, which does not even confer such social privileges as that of the lord lieutenant at Dublin.

Of the palace of the Jameses all that remains is the south-west tower on one side of the entrance. The early house is known, however, to have been built round a quadrangle, and to have consisted, like the present one, of two stories. Bruce placed at the southern end of Cromwell's west front the other tower which corresponds to the ancient one; and he modified and improved upon Cromwell's work. He built the other three sides of the quadrangular courtyard, which probably includes a greater area than that of the fifteenth century.

The palace is a grey and rather sombre building, which stands against the blue background of Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Craigs, hills of singularly beautiful outline. The sentry who guards the entrance paces between the tower of James IV. and that which was made by Bruce. He is in the pervading greyness a very brilliant object. Within the western gates is the courtyard, surrounded by a colonnade from which both the modern part of the palace and the historical rooms in the south-west tower are reached. A winding stone staircase of some breadth, which was inserted by Sir William Bruce, leads to the rooms of Mary Stewart, a chamber of audience, a bedroom and a supper-room, and to those of Darnley. These rooms

were entirely altered by Charles I. On the flat timber ceiling of the principal of them are the initials C. R. and C. P., Charles King and Charles Prince; and those of James VII. and his wife, Mary of Modena, J. R. and M. R. They occur among many heraldic ornaments, the portcullis, the harp, the rose and thistle, the lion salient, and a red cross, all crowned. The windows of this room and the others in the tower were enlarged by Bruce. There is no absolute proof that the beautiful tapestry, the magnificent four-post beds and the other furniture date from the days of Mary.

In that part of the palace which was erected in the seventeenth century the most interesting room is the great gallery which extends on the first floor along the whole length of the northern side of the quadrangle, and as far as the outer east wall of the palace. It is here that the elections of representative peers of Scotland take place. The purity of the race of the many Scottish kings who are depicted along the walls would seem to be proved by the strong likeness they all bear to one another. Two portraits are of superior interest, those of James III. and his son and of Margaret of Denmark and her daughter, both good examples of Flemish art. There are, moreover, two fragments of an ecclesiastical painting which represents the Holy Family and has great merit.

The chapel royal, on the north-west side of the palace, is a ruin. The choir and the transept have gone; the nave remains, with the west front and the tower and an unglazed east window. No remedy of the depredations of 1688 was attempted until 1757, when a restoration was undertaken with so little judgment that the walls were overweighted, and the roof fell in ten years later. Thus the tombs in the

HOLYROOD PALACE.

Photo. by Spooner.

chapel lie bare to the sky, guarded only by walls and by the beautiful tracery of the arches.

Since the building of the New Town of Edinburgh, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Canongate, through which Holyrood is approached, has become a picturesque street of slums. Until exempt places were abolished in the nineteenth century, the precincts of the palace remained an asylum for debtors. In 1819 they enjoyed as such great popularity, and houses within their limits were very highly rented. It is this combination of circumstances which has made Holyrood Palace unpopular as a residence of kings.

Stirling Castle

THE name of Stirling is modern; even in the eighteenth century it was used only as an alternative for the older form. Strivelin or Striveling Castle has a story which is begun by ancient legends and continued through eight centuries of Scottish history.

From the myths which contain the earliest evidence as to the fortress two facts emerge: the first that of its extreme antiquity; the second, the most permanent in its history, that of its military importance.

It was believed for long that the first strong place on the site of the castle was one of the forts which Agricola built to defend the isthmus between the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde. But the Romans were not wont to place their strongholds on elevated places as were the mediæval peoples of Europe. The tradition is followed by others, yet more mythical in origin, which connect King Arthur with Stirling Castle. Then there is a fact which concerns its position: Stirling stood in the sixth and seventh centuries at or near the point at which the territories of the Picts, the Scots, the kingdom of Strathclyde and that of Northumbria converged; in the two next centuries it was at the junction of the boundaries of Scotland, Strathclyde, and Northumbria; and there is credibility in Boece's tale that a great stone cross stood upon Stirling bridge to mark the place where met the marches of three kings. Boece cites his legend of

the cross in order to account for the common seal used by the burghers of Stirling from the thirteenth century. It bears a cross which has on one side of it spearmen who aim at bowmen shooting back at them from its other side; and on the seal is the motto, "Hic armis Bruti Scoti stant, hic cruce tuti." Stirling was held to separate the Christian Lowland men from the "Hieland Brutes."

Its significance underwent little change. Down to the 'Forty-five the castle stood between the Highlands and the Lowlands; it was the place which bound the Highlander.

It is unlikely that there was not a stronghold on the castle rock in the period which intervenes between the Roman occupation and that of the attested history of Scotland. The rock, apart from its position with regard to the kingdoms, commands the Forth where that river is easily crossed, and, together with Dumbarton, the line of country between the Forth and the Clyde. The possession of a fort on it may easily have been the prize of many contests between the neighbouring peoples.

It is as a border fortress that there is first certain knowledge of Stirling Castle. It was held by Alexander I., son to Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, who ruled from 1107 to 1124 over Scotland north of the Forth and the Clyde. South of these rivers his brother and successor, David, was king. Alexander made and endowed the chapel of Stirling Castle; this house and Dunfermline were probably his chief residences since he had no part in Edinburgh, and Stirling was the place of his death. The foundation of the chapel was confirmed by David I.

Stirling Castle was in 1174 one of the four fortresses yielded to Henry II. as the ransom of William

the Lion, and was with the others bought back from Richard I. William is said to have established there a mint. The monkish chronicler of Pluscarden, who wrote some three centuries later, recounts a tale of a general council held at Stirling by this king in his old age, when he had just recovered from a sickness, and was in enjoyment of a short respite from the war with England. He sent nobles from Stirling as ambassadors to King John in order to establish peace; and John, when he heard their instructions, "raged like a madman." This may record an event in the negotiations between John and William as to the latter's claims on Northumberland. In 1214, on the 4th of December, William died at Stirling Castle. The end of his reign was troubled by insurrections in the eastern Highlands, and the chroniclers relate that, after he had in Moray secured a degree of order, he travelled southwards to Stirling in great bodily weakness and by slow stages. He lingered for some days at the castle, losing strength every day, and then died piously, a man seventy-three years old, who had reigned for almost half a century. Before his death he procured the adhesion of the bishops, earls, and barons to the succession of his son Alexander. He, as Alexander II., was at Stirling with the queen mother at Epiphany of next year. In 1244 the town was entirely consumed by a fire, but any damage suffered by the castle does not appear.

In 1257 Stirling Castle was the scene of such an episode as was often enacted in Scottish history. Since their capture of Edinburgh Castle the party of Alan Durward had been ascendant in the kingdom. Now Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, with Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and their supporters seized at Kinross, at midnight on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, the sixteen-year-old king, Alexander III., and the great seal, and carried both to Stirling Castle.

This effective method of securing governing power may almost be said to have become eventually part of constitutional practice in Scotland. There is evidence that the king was also at the castle voluntarily and in the time of his majority, and took pleasure in it. Between 1264 and 1266 the sum of £80, 16s. 3d. was spent on the completion of the new park and the repair of the old. In 1278 or 1280 the castle was the place of the death of David, the king's younger son, who was buried at Dunfermline.

When, at his death in 1286, Alexander III. left no direct heir to the throne but the little Maid of Norway, much importance attached to the report that the queen Yoletta was with child. The Lanercost chronicler accuses her of having originated the rumour in order to acquire favour and possessions, but it may be that she herself was deceived. Until the 2nd of February, for nearly a year after her husband's death, she remained in Stirling Castle. She caused a new font to be made of white marble for the baptism of her child, and the people prepared to rejoice. But on the feast of the Purification she was seized in the gateway of the castle by William of Buchan, and the expectation of another heir to the crown was confounded. Yoletta became an object of hatred, and she who had been welcomed from overseas with many gifts, left Scotland in shame.

Between 1288 and 1290, in the years of the interregnum, fuel was provided for the castle, wages were paid to two parkers and a hunter of foxes, to parkers who made a new paling, and to the keeper of the new park, and the porter. The payment of £102, 3s. 2d. to masons, stone-breakers, smiths, and other workmen employed in building works at the castle probably indicates that it was placed in a state of defence, and foreshadows the important part which it played in the War of Independence.

In 1291, the Guardians of Scotland delivered all castles of the kingdom to Edward I. He placed at Stirling an English castellan, Norman Darcy, to whom payments were made in this year for the provisioning of the castle and otherwise, but who also received a fee from the chamberlain of Scotland, and in 1292 from him and from the sheriff of Stirling. This keeper, if he still held office at the date of the revolt from Edward's authority in 1294, did not retain the castle for the English king. In June 1296, however, Edward marched from Linlithgow to Stirling, and the chronicler of Lanercost relates that he cast such fear before him that he found a deserted fortress, of which the keys hung over an open door. There were left some prisoners, who implored the king's mercy and were set free. Edward remained for five days, and was again at Stirling on the 14th and 15th of August. He made Sir Richard de Waldegrave constable in his interest. Next year occurred Wallace's victory at Stirling Bridge. A great part of the garrison and the constable were slain in the fight; but Warenne, the English commander, sent a force under William de Ros, Sir William FitzWaryn, and Sir Marmaduke de Thweng to throw themselves into the castle, and they succeeded in occupying it. Warenne promised to relieve them within ten weeks, and he wrote to England to beg a ratification of his appointment of William FitzWaryn as constable in place of Waldegrave. That office was however filled by John Sampson in August 1298. After his victory at Falkirk King Edward came to Stirling in July 1298; and it was probably during his visit that the keeper of his wardrobe delivered to John Sampson, for the service of the chapel of the castle, a silver chalice, a vestment, two towels, a missal, a portoise, certain antiphones and tropes, and two cruets of pewter.

In December the castle was victualled: the business was entrusted to a certain clerk, Sir Alexander Convers, who was ordered not to leave Scotland until it was done.

Its garrison, commanded by John Sampson, consisted of some ninety persons, combatant and non-combatant, who included Sir Thomas de Bruddenhale, chaplain and groom; John de Cave, clerk and groom; Ralph de Kirkeby, clerk; Master John the engineer, and four companions; John the smith and groom; Richard the mason and two companions; two janitors and a boy; and William of Lanark, the single one of them to bear a Scottish name. These persons were besieged by the Scots in 1299, and were reduced to the necessity of eating a bay horse, a ferrant horse, and a mare "for default of other food." During a period of truce, however, they bought hay for their horses, beef, mutton, milk, butter, cheese, flour, and fish. They surrendered at the end of the year to the Scots under Gilbert Malerbe; and John Sampson recovered from the English government the value of certain linen sheets cut and uncut, gold buckles and rings, silk purses, silver spoons, a gentleman's bed, and other articles, which he lost, presumably to pillagers.

Thus the Scots acquired this important fortress, the gateway of the Highlands; and they gave its command to William Oliphant, "a knight of a great spirit." It was in the spring of 1304 the only strong place which had not surrendered to the English, and on the Sunday after Easter King Edward brought his army to besiege it. A brilliant company of men at arms gathered around the castle rock: there were the Earls of Warenne, Nicole, Gloucester, Lancaster, Warwick, and Worcester; John de Bretagne, Aymer de Valence, Henry de Percy, and Hugh le Despenser,

with all their followers, and many others; and they were watched from the castle by two knights, Sir William Oliphant and Sir William of Dupplin, twenty men of honour, without page or porter, a friar preacher, a "monk counsellor," thirteen maidens and ladies, and no others of distinction. Matthew of Westminster states that Oliphant, when he saw the chivalry of the English king, sent to him to crave passage for an embassy to France, which should ask for how long it were well to withstand a siege. But Edward replied that the constable must himself decide this matter. Yet the enterprise of the English king was protracted and difficult. Already in March he had ordered the Bishop of Chester to send for the siege money and stones; in April he had directed the lead to be stripped from the roofs of the churches of Perth and Dunblane for the engines, of which he brought with him thirteen, one of them a "hideous engine" called Ludgare, and another, the "great engine of Inverkip." One or more engines were used by the besieged. In June Edward commanded that a vessel should carry with all haste to Stirling beans and oats for his horses, which had only grass to eat; that all his stores from Berwick should be sent to him to this destitute country; that the sheriff of York should furnish him with a reinforcement of forty crossbowmen and forty carpenters. In July he wrote for five hundred quarrels and "a tour, nerfs, peel, engleu," and other necessaries for crossbows. To construct engines all the lead was taken from the roof of the monastery of St. Andrews. At last in September, after a siege which had lasted all through the summer, Oliphant and twenty-five men, probably all the remnant of the garrison, yielded on conditions written and subscribed. But Edward broke the word

STIRLING CASTLE IN 1781.

Drawn by T. Hearne, etched by S. Middiman.

he had plighted; he sent the brave constable to the Tower of London and other Scottish prisoners to Launceston. William Bisset was appointed constable and sheriff of the county.

The humiliation of Scotland was marked by the exposure at Stirling in 1305 of one quarter of the body of Sir William Wallace.

Succeeding notices of the castle concern its provisioning with flour, wine, cod-fish, salt, and other victuals. The constabulary was held in 1310 by Ebulo de Montibus, in 1312 by the "douchty" Sir Philip Mowbray, a Scot whose politics were English. In that year the bailiff of Holdernesse and the sheriffs of eight English counties sent corn, bacon, and other stores for the munition of the castle. From Lent to midsummer 1314 Edward Bruce besieged this stronghold, then so impregnable, "bot gret chevelry done wes nane." At last Mowbray agreed to surrender if he were not relieved within a year: it is said that King Robert was displeased with his brother for granting so long a reprieve. But the English forces assembled before St. John's day: "Immense was the army which Edward brought together for the relief of Stirling Castle, and the choicest he could muster of all the races, whether his subjects or his allies, with which he had to do. In number of troups and their equipment we read of the like nowhere in Britain." Bannockburn followed and gave back Stirling Castle to the Scots.

The castle rock was after the battle black with fugitives from the English army. King Robert sent a company to attack them and probably there was much slaughter. He remained for some time in Stirling and superintended the honourable burial in holy places of the great lords slain in action, and the

interment in pits of the undistinguished dead. He caused also "the castle and the towers" to be levelled with the ground.

This can signify only that the castle ceased to be a place of strength, for it was still a royal residence; a kitchen for the king was constructed in it in 1328. Its keepership belonged to the sheriff of Stirling.

That it was indefensible is confirmed by the circumstance that in 1335 it was held by Edward III., who had apparently peaceably taken possession of it. He however caused it to be restored as a fortress and placed in it a garrison. At Ascensiontide 1336 it was besieged by the Scots, but Edward III. advanced by forced marches to its relief, and the siege was abandoned at the news of his approach. The garrison in 1337 was commanded by Sir Thomas de Rokeby and was of formidable strength: it consisted of three knights, eighty esquires, a clerk of victuals, twenty-two watchmen and eighty archers; and certain masons, sawyers, carpenters, and thatchers were employed by the constable. It yielded to the siege of Robert Stewart, the Guardian, in April 1342, when Rokeby had been brought to despair of relief by news of the war in France, when his men had been reduced by nearly a third, and his supply of food had run short. He agreed to a surrender without bloodshed.

Here ends the most stirring time in the history of Stirling Castle. The warden appointed by Robert Stewart was Maurice de Moray, lord of Clydesdale. In 1364 and afterwards Sir Robert Erskine, member of a family to be much connected with this house, was keeper. The castle was visited in 1368 by the queen of David II., Margaret Logie; and in the same year the king sent the chamberlain and four knights to inspect the garrison, the walls, the victualling, and

further warlike necessaries of this and other strongholds. The keepership had passed in 1373 to Robert, Earl of Fife, afterwards Duke of Albany, who held the office until his death. Robert II. was sometimes in Stirling Castle; carpets and a mattress were provided in 1380 for his chamber. In 1384 and afterwards payment was made to a keeper of arms in the castle. Richard II. during his invasion of Scotland in 1385 failed to make an impression on this fortress. From 1361 to the end of the century, money was spent on building works and repairs. In 1381 there is record of the construction of the ante-mural and western door of the castle, in 1390 of the tower called Wal.

In 1359 the chapel of the castle is first described as dedicated to St. Michael. Its priest was then in receipt of 50s. annually.

The castle in the reign of James I. is associated chiefly with the pitiless repressive policy of that king. It appears often to have been the residence of the regent Albany: he died there in 1420 and was carried to Dunfermline for burial. His son Duke Murdoch, Murdoch's sons Alexander Stewart, whom the king had knighted in the previous year, and Walter, and Murdoch's father-in-law, Donald, Earl of Lennox, were in May 1425 beheaded before the castle with which they must have been very familiar. Their sentence was passed in a parliament which met in the borough. In 1431 James arrested another kinsman, his nephew John Kennedy, and imprisoned him in the castle. In 1437 the king's murderer, Robert Graham, was led captive to Stirling, and there, probably in the place where Lennox and the Stewarts had died, he was after revolting torture put to death. It is likely that in Stirling of all places in Scotland there were some who sympathised with the view advanced in the speech

Graham made to his judges, the view which history has disproved: "Oh ye all so sinful, wretched and merciless Scottish folk, without prudence and full replete of unavised folly . . . yet doubt I not that ye shall see the day and the time that ye shall pray for my saul for the great good that I have done to you and to all this reaume of Scotland, that I have thus slain and delivered you of so cruel a tyrant, the greatest enemy the Scots or Scotland might have . . . without pity or mercy to sib or to freme, to high or to lawe, to poor or to rich."

Both in the time of the captivity of James I. and in the years of his rule frequent payments were made for repairs and building executed at Stirling Castle. In 1406 a wooden mill was built in its precincts; in 1420 the well was cleansed and repaired; the stables were mended and the dwellings roofed in 1434; in that year Baltic timber was supplied for the castle, and in the next planks of Prussia. In 1434 two houses in the town were hired for the king's cattle. The servants at the castle who received wages were a janitor, three watchmen, a granitarius who presumably kept the grain, an officer who had charge of the houses and keys, the king's vases and other necessaries, a sentinel, and a keeper of the pond.

After the death of James I., Stirling Castle was held by the widowed queen Jane: it had probably been assigned to her as a dower-house. The tale which narrates her abduction of the child James II. from Edinburgh Castle states further that at Stirling the governor of the castle, Sir Alexander Livingstone, came with all his forces joyfully to receive the king, and that he esteemed the queen greatly for her daring and success. It is certain that James was at Stirling in 1439; and that any affection felt by Livingstone for

Queen Jane had by that time suffered diminution. She had, probably to secure a protector, married Sir James Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorne. It is likely that Livingstone resented her authority with regard to her son; at all events, on the 3rd of August, he made her a prisoner within her chamber in the castle, and kept her there until she was released by the action of a council at the end of the month. A mysterious statement, seemingly of horrid import, is that he also placed her husband and his brother William "in pitts and bollit thai." In September, however, Jane with the sanction of parliament was reconciled to Livingstone. She remitted the grief and displeasure consequent on the restrictions placed on her liberty; she acknowledged her confinement to have been wrought of the great truth and lealty of Alexander and his supporters; she gave to his keeping the king while a minor, and lent to him for a residence during such period her castle of Stirling; and she assigned 4000 marks for the king's upkeep in the castle. In return she received free access to her son, but Alexander reserved certain rights over those who should visit him in her company.

But these elaborate arrangements were shortlived. On a "mirk nicht" Crichton with a hundred friends stole into the park of Stirling; and when, by good luck, James with a small company of horsemen rode out to hunt at break of day, he suddenly found himself surrounded by unknown men. They saluted him with respectful humility; and then Crichton requested him to be so good as to deliver himself from the prison in which he was wickedly detained and to pass to Edinburgh or any other part of Scotland. Crichton and his men offered themselves as a convoy to guard him from all who would not let a prince live freely.

The little king's fancy was pleased; he smiled and they understood that he was glad to go with them; and then they took his horse by the bridle and rode off with him towards Edinburgh. Some of his servants would have interfered, but they were restrained by Alexander Livingstone, eldest son of the governor, who told them the king was in no danger, and that it was vain to oppose so many armed men.

In February 1449, when the Douglases were high in the king's favour, there was a jousting in the barres at Stirling. In the king's presence James, Master of Douglas, James Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochleven, and the laird of Halkett met two knights of Burgundy, Sirs Jacques and Simon de Lalane, and the lord of Longueville, who was their squire.

The castle was a part of the dower assigned by James to his queen, Mary of Gueldres. In May 1450 a child who lived only for six hours was there born to her.

In this year old Alexander Livingstone was attainted, and the keepership of Stirling Castle passed into the tenure of his rival Crichton. It had, presumably by Alexander's act of delegation, been held for some years by his son James. According to Pitscottie, it was at Stirling Castle that in 1451 William, Earl of Douglas, who had been temporarily estranged from James, came to the court and placed himself and all he had in the king's hands, desiring only pardon for his faults and leave to be "bot as the soberest courtier in his grace's company." He received back his lands, "and all good Scotsmen were very blithe at the accordance."

But on the 22nd of February 1452, the second Douglas tragedy of the reign took place at Stirling Castle. There was a rumour that a bond existed between the Earl of Douglas and the Earls of Craw-

ford and Ross. James sent by William Lauder of Haltoun a special safe-conduct to the Douglas, signed by his own hand and under his privy seal, and attested by all the lords who were at Stirling Castle with him, and who had sworn to hinder the king from breaking faith. Thus guarded Douglas obeyed the royal behest and arrived at Stirling on the 21st of February. He went at once into the king's presence, who "took right weel with him be appearance," and invited him to dinner and supper on the morrow. The earl came accordingly; and at seven o'clock in the evening, after supper, as he was in an inner chamber with the king, James taxed him with the existence of the bond and charged him to break it. Douglas answered that he might not and would not comply; and the king was overcome by anger, apparently unpremeditated. He said, "'False traitor, sence you will not I sall.' And stert sodanly to him with ane knife and straik him in at the collar and down in the body. And they said that Patrick Gray strak him next the king with ane pole-axe on the head and strak out his brains. And syne the gentillis that war with the king gaf them ilk ane a straik or twa with knife." They who participated in the butchery were Sir Alexander Boyd, Lord Darnley, Sir Andrew Stewart, Sir William of Grahamstown, Sir Simon Glendinning, and Lord Gray.

On St. Patrick's day the dead man's brother, Douglas, Earl of Ormond, together with Lord Hamilton and some six hundred men, came to Stirling. They blew the horn twenty-four times to denounce the king and all that were with him; and then they showed the king's signed letter that was hung with the seals of all the lords, and fixed it to a board which was tied to a horse's tail and shamefully dragged through the mud of the town. They made a show of their con-

tempt for the king, speaking "right slanderously" of him; and finally, in consummation of their wrath, they burnt and spoiled the borough. The king had already left the castle for Perth; in June he was exonerated for the murder by a parliament.

Throughout the reign of James II. there are many references to building at the castle. In 1447 one hundred panes of glass were provided for the windows of the king's chamber, and in 1459 four hundred panes for the fabric in general. In 1458 the kitchen, the small larder, the brewery, the bakery, and the new brewery were repaired; the kitchen was paved; and four windows were made in the hall and the queen's chamber. There is mention in 1453 of the boys of the king's chapel at Stirling.

It seems that the queen mother was much at Stirling Castle during the minority of James III. His brother Mar and his sisters, the ladies Mary and Margaret, were there also in 1463. On the king's marriage to Margaret of Denmark in 1469 the house was assigned to her as part of her dower. Of this king it is said that he took such pleasure in dwelling at Stirling that he neglected for it all other castles and towns in Scotland. There are full records in the treasurer's accounts of a time he spent there in the early summer of 1475. Entries concern £6, 10s. which he lost when he played "at the catch," 36s. expended on his balls, the wages of John Bate who brought him a hawk, of the wife who kept his hawks, and 14s., the price of a pair of gloves. Further sums were paid to the wife Goldee who supplied him with whey, to a man who brought him a bear, to two women who sang to him.

After the stay at Holyrood which followed his release from Edinburgh Castle, James with Albany,

and with the Duke of Gloucester who had with him 2000 horse and 500 foot in the pay of the English king, went to Stirling. Thence he visited other parts of Scotland, but Stirling Castle appears to have been his headquarters for the rest of the year.

Margaret, the queen, was keeper of the castle after 1481; and she was there in 1484 and in 1485, perhaps continuously. In 1486 it was the place of her death. Prince James, who had probably been with his mother, was at Stirling during the remaining years of his father's reign.

In 1469 the king had converted the chapel royal of his favourite castle into a collegiate church, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Michael: it is said that he instituted in it an unusually large number of prebends in order that some canons might always accompany him, to sing and to play, while others served the chapel. This did not affect the old foundation; for the earlier beneficiary, as had for some time been the case, still received ten marks a year. James now attempted to add to the endowment of the college the priory of Coldingham, and by this action he aroused the enmity of the Homes and the Hepburns: the south of Scotland armed against him and he collected the loyal forces.

He went to Stirling Castle, victualled it, and appointed to its command James Shaw of Sauchie. To him he entrusted also his eldest son, and charged him, as he loved his honour and his life, to let none, great or small, enter the castle, and on no account to suffer the prince to leave it, either to play any game or to meet any man.

Certain of the rebel lords, Angus, Annandale, Bothwell, and Home, sent to Shaw to come and speak with them for his weal and profit; and with fair

promises and gifts of gold and silver they were able to buy his faith. He retained his keepership of the castle in their name and that of the prince, swore that he would not receive into it the king, and delivered the prince into their hands.

Thereafter the king came to Stirling to meet his army, and when he arrived "incontinent" at the castle he was denied entrance. Then he desired to speak to his son, and was told by Shaw that the prince did not wish to see him. He asked gently where the prince was, and when he heard the fact, he denounced the treachery of the keeper, and swore, if he lived, to reward it. He slept that night in the town, and passed next day to his death in battle.

The most important part of the fabric of Stirling Castle assigned to the reign of James III. is the parliament house with its fine hall. This, like Linlithgow Palace, has been ascribed to the architecture of the favourite Cochrane. In 1461 the chambers of the king and queen and the hall of the wardrobe were repaired, and two years later a door was made in the White Tower. The roof of the chapel was mended, and in 1469 two hundred boards from the Baltic and two hundred square stones for pavement and ornament were delivered to the master of the fabric of the chapel. There is first mention in this reign of a gardener at the castle: he received 20s. a year and an allowance of meal.

After the surrender to him of Edinburgh Castle, James IV. passed to Stirling and was at once received into the castle. He remained there for a while, and went daily to the chapel royal to hear mass and evensong; and the priests prayed for his welfare and for the soul of his father. It is related that thus he was brought to repent of his part in his father's

death and went to ask counsel of the dean of the chapel, a godly man; less rash, however, than he was devout, since for dread of the lords he did not speak his mind to the young king, but gave only ghostly counsel. James continued sad, and at last sought relief in an act of repentance: he caused an iron belt to be made, which he wore daily for the rest of his life, and every year an ounce was added to its weight.

In January 1489 there occurred a royal grant to the traitor, James Shaw of Sauchie, and John his son, for the lifetime of the survivor of them, of the custody of the castle of Stirling and its houses, bounds, and fortalices, with liberty to make stables, and with all profits and fees which had belonged to the queen of James III. in the time of her keepership. This appointment must be ascribed to the action of the lords who had rebelled against the dead king, and it was soon cancelled. A year later Alexander Hume was made keeper for nine years, and to him was given also the charge of the king's younger brother, John, Earl of Mar, whose early education was received in the castle. In April 1490 this prince was said to have reached an age at which he might derive profit from "schools and doctrines"; and to provide for his instruction the lands of Mar and Garioch, to which his dignity gave him a right, were assigned, while full powers of management over them were entrusted to Alexander Hume.

In 1489 certain Danes were entertained by the king at Stirling: probably a Danish ship was in the Forth. In October Carrick pursuivant was charged to convey a French herald from Stirling to Edinburgh. But a much more important foreign visitor was received in November 1495, Prince Richard of

England or Perkin Warbeck, for whom James IV. adopted the cause of the white rose.

Early in the month arras, the "cupboard" and the ornaments of the chapel were carried from Edinburgh to Stirling for the reception of the "English prince." On his coming the hospitality accorded to him included the replenishing of the wardrobes of himself and his servants. There were provided for him black hose of cloth of Lille trimmed with purple damask; a "hogtoun" of white and purple damask to be worn at a tournament, and "arming" hose, probably for the same occasion, which were made of white kersey. His marriage with Lady Katherine Gordon had already been arranged, and fourteen ells of white damask were bought to fashion his wedding gown, as well as black cloth of Lille for his hose, and seven ells of velvet to make a greatcoat, with sleeves "of the new fashion," lined with damask. Six of his servants received each of them a "hogtoun" of tartan adorned with broad ribbons, and a gown of damask; for two trumpets gowns of rowan tan, doublets of chamlet, and hose of red kersey were provided; and for Laurence, the armourer, a gown of rowan tan, a doublet of velvet, hose of black cloth of Lille, and a brown "hogtoun" of the same material.

Such would appear to have been Perkin's train, who, with their master and the Scottish king, were again at Stirling at Easter 1496.

There are other indications in the history of the castle of the complicated foreign policy of James IV. There was talk of a Spanish match for the king; and in April 1497 certain ambassadors of Spain were entertained at Stirling during ten days. The Archbishop of Glasgow had been sent to Spain to treat concerning the matter; in August his man brought

letters from the Spaniards to the king at Stirling. In July 1498 Perkin's cause was already lost, and an ambassador of Henry VII. was received by King James at Stirling. A peace between the two kings was there concluded in July of next year.

From about this time until the date of his marriage, the mistresses of the king often lived at this castle. Janet Kennedy, Lady Bothwell, appears to have been there continuously from 1499 until December 1502. In 1500 a son, named James and created Earl of Moray, was born to her; and two years later occur references to the two women who had charge of this child at Stirling, to a pair of shoes, a coat of French brown, and a verdure bed, presumably one of which the tapestry depicted a woodland scene, which were bought for him, and to the mantle and wool bed supplied to his nurse. He would seem to have had brothers or sisters, for scarlet of England was provided to make coats for "the bairns." His mother received at Stirling black cloth of Lille, velvet, damask to line her cloak, Holland cloth, a hat, and two ells of strip of gold, as well as such articles of domestic use as two ticks of feather beds and six stone of feathers, pots, a kettle, four pans, a tin quart and a pint stoup, four candlesticks, a verdure bed, twenty-six ells of white for blankets, and three cushions sewed and lined. In June 1503 a nurse brought the king's daughter by Margaret Drummond from Drummond Castle to Stirling.

Stirling Castle and shire had been assigned to Queen Margaret Tudor as part of her dower; and already, on the 30th of May 1503, the king in person had within the castle delivered possession thereof to Lord Dacre and another who were Margaret's attorneys. The "bairns," when in July 1504 the king

and queen came to the castle, were transferred to lodgings in the town; and in September they were taken to St. Andrews.

Some letters written by the English agent Nicholas West to his government in March 1513 give an account of interviews with the king at Stirling Castle. West in the traverse, a seat enclosed by lattice-work, treated with a distracted king, from whom it was difficult to obtain definite statements, a fey man, who made visionary talk of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and when urged to abandon his alliance with France showed "four sheets of paper sewed together, and signed at the end with the French king's hand, and sealed with his signet." "Now you see," he said, "wherefore I favour the French king, and wherefore I am loth to lose him; for if I do I shall be never able to perform my journey." West was received on Monday the 28th; on Wednesday, in the morning, when he came to the court unasked because he saw they began "to trifle him forth"; on Wednesday afternoon, when his "importunate labour" caused the king to withdraw into a closet with only himself and the secretary; and on Friday in the presence of the lords. He wrote the unsatisfactory result of his diplomacy to his master, and added: "I had liever your Grace had commanded me to tarry so long in Turkey, this country is so miserable, and the people so ungracious; and over that I shall have scant money to bring me home, the country is so dear."

This view, however, was clearly prejudiced. The history of Stirling Castle, as of other Scottish palaces, contradicts it with much evidence of the culture and liberality of the country and court of the king to whom Dunbar wrote—

"Schir ye have mony servitoris
And officiaris of dyvers curis;
Kirkmen, courtmen and craftismen fyne;
Doctours in jure and medicyne;
Divinouris, rethoris, and philosophouris,
Astrologis, artistis, and oratouris;
Men of armes, and vailyeand knychtis,
And mony uther gudlie wichtis;
Musicianis, menstralis, and mirrie singaris,
Chevalouris, callendaris and flingaris;
Cunzouris (coiners), carvouris and carpentaris,
Beilderis of barkis, and ballingaris;
Masounis lyand upon the land,
And schip wrichtis hewand upone the strand,
Glasing wrichtis, goldsmythis and lapidaris,
Pryntouris, payntouris and potingaries (apothecaries),
And all of their craft cunning."

He balances the list with another of less reputable followers of the court—

"Monsouris of France, gud claret cunnaris (connoisseurs),
Inopportune askaris of Yrland kynd,"

and numerous others.

There are many records which bear testimony to revels of the court held at Stirling Castle. It was customary in all great houses, and also in boroughs, to appoint yearly an Abbot of Unreason, who held sway from Christmastide until Candlemas. In 1496 compensation was paid by royal precept to Gilbert Brade, whose house in Stirling this official had spoilt. In the summer of 1498 a person, who evidently occupied an analogous position with regard to the midsummer festivities, the "Abbot of Na Rent," incurred certain expenses at the castle. As elsewhere, there came to the court at Stirling players on the tabor, luters, singers, Italian minstrels and English minstrels, bards, morris-dancers with their minstrels, and "spelaris" or climbers. In 1503 James Jaclen

received 14s. for bringing a mavis, probably trained to sing, to the king at Stirling. The "vailyeand knychtis" held tourneys in the barres, for which were provided ferrules, swords, and tourney heads, and spears, red spears, great spears, and banners. A reward was earned by a Spaniard who displayed his horsemanship in the park; and the king lost money when he played cards, when he shot with the culveryn, and "at the running between the butts." In May 1502 he sent a coat of gold from Stirling to the King of Denmark.

Of "potingars" at Stirling there is particular mention. In 1502 28s. were paid to Foularton, who went to the court to make precious stones by the king's command. In 1503 quicksilver to the value of £5, 5s. was sent to Stirling packed in a box and in skins, and twenty-eight goldsmith's pots were provided for the "mediciners" there. Next year an apothecary despatched to the queen at Stirling half a pound of a hot aromatic drug called galiga, as much "long" pepper and cinnamon, three ounces of cubebs, a carminative spice, and seven vials. These must have had a culinary purpose; but there is other evidence that the king in this castle gratified his scientific tastes. Drugs were delivered there in 1507; in 1508 a reward was paid to David the barber who drew aqua vitæ, and a furnace was constructed in which to melt metals; in 1513 there is mention of Robert Maclellan, who made water into quintessence, of aqua vitæ made into quintessence, of a pan for quintessence, of a "tub and stuff" for the king's closet in Stirling, of the "potingary" there, and of glasses brought from Edinburgh. In 1507 John Damian, the king's French leech, attempted to fly from the walls of the castle with a pair of artificial wings; and his failure evoked

from Dunbar "Ane ballet of the fenzeit (feigned) freir of Tungland how he fell in the myre fleand to Turkiland."

The outdoor sport chiefly enjoyed at Stirling appears to have been that of hawking. We know of hawk bells there supplied to the king by a Frenchman at a cost of 8s., of a falconer who passed thence to find hawks, of Dandie Doule who stayed behind the king in Stirling with the hawks, of Hector Stewart who carried the hawks to Stirling, of a boy who climbed to a hawk's nest in the Abbot's Craig. Deer were hunted much less frequently than at Falkland; but James IV. endeavoured to improve this sport. In 1502 wages were paid to the wife who kept the kids at Stirling, and in the same year young does were carried thither from Falkland and deer from Cumbrae. Deer were brought from Falkland in 1504; on sixteen occasions in the winter of 1505; divers times, in seven litters, in the winter of 1506; and again in that of 1507. In September 1507 the laird of Wemyss gave three white deer to be put in Stirling Park. The lands of Gallowhills had in 1506 been conceded to the king by the borough and included by the wall of the castle and park. In 1508 those of Auldpark were added to the New Park for the pasture of deer. Certain live herons were delivered to James at Stirling in 1497, perhaps for breeding purposes. The park was used also for the grazing of cows and sheep; a house in the borough was still rented for an avery or cattle-house.

There is nothing more interesting than the details which exist concerning the gardens at the castle. The gardeners were the canons of the chapel royal, often designated monks, as was usual in this period. From 1492 until 1496 wages in money and allowances

of meal were received by Brother Archibald Hamilton and Brother John Caldwell for their labours in the garden and for the repair of the castle lawn. But in 1496 and 1497 a new garden, called the great garden, was made beneath the castle wall: payments were received by the monk who cast it, and by Dean Matthew of Culross, monk of Stirling, for building its dikes; and many trees were planted in it. Sir John Millar, whose prefix was a customary one for clergymen, procured eleven hundred young trees in 1497; next year trees were supplied by the gardener of Alloa, and £10 were allotted to Dean Matthew with which to buy trees. He procured also peas and beans at a cost of 18s. In the spring of 1501 a hedge of thorns was made in the new garden; osiers and other trees were planted; and in April 28s. were paid to a Frenchman and his helper who planted vines, called wine trees. Herbs were procured from the gardener of Scone. In the following January sixteen pear trees, and hay in which to bed them, were carried to Stirling; the gardener in February bought willows and thirty-six other trees. In April rosemary from Bothwell was planted. Next year more trees were bought; a paling was made for the orchard and seeds were sown by the master cook. Dean Matthew received 25s. for buying 1500 plum trees. In March 1504 more fruit trees were carried to Stirling. In May an entry of a rarer kind was made; the gardener received 3s. in order that he might go to Culross to fetch flowers for planting. Expenses of a like kind were incurred in the succeeding years of the reign; more trees were planted, and more seeds sown by the master cook. In June 1504, 56s. were paid for the furnishing of the little garden. A French gardener was employed from 1502 until 1505, when he received £7 as the cost

of his clothes during the years of his service. There are evidences that the garden was productive: the gardener in October 1506 brought pears to the king; in June he supplied the court with strawberries. It would seem, if regard be had to the situation of Stirling, that early varieties of that fruit must already have been discovered; and it is indeed on record that he produced other strawberries, perhaps of the commoner kind, in August of the same year. In July 1507 he was rewarded for bringing cherries to the king.

In the spring of 1498 certain stanks or fishing ponds were made at Stirling, probably in the new garden. These were stocked with various fish, trout, burn-trout from Buchanan, lampreys, and pike. There is a reference to an "Ersche," probably a Highland fisher, who received 14s. with which to go home from Stirling, but whether he had brought fish to the ponds or fished them does not appear. In 1505 wages were paid to some fishers of the stanks. There were swans which must have swum on the fishponds, and in 1504 a white peacock was brought to Stirling. That there were these birds makes inevitable the conclusion that, in spite of the scanty allusions to the planting or sowing of flowers, the gardens were not only utilitarian in character but were designed for beauty and for pleasure. Gavin Douglas, a poet of the reign, has left on record that

> "Ane paradice it semyt to draw neyr
> Thyr galyart gardingis and ilke greyn herbere."

James IV. was probably the most pious of all the Stewart sovereigns; and the "cunning craft" of his servants was much employed on the fabric and ornament of the chapel royal. In 1497 David the wricht had completed in it an altar and the "sylour"; from

that year until 1504 "auld David" the carver was engaged on work in the gallery; another carver was employed on the ceiling of the chapel; the organs were mended in 1507 by a canon of Holyrood; the Easter sepulchre, the chapel door, and the Judas cross were repaired. Of the embroiderer's art special use was made. In 1498 Sir John Kilgour mended six arras cloths, and made a new hanging to be placed above the altar. In August 1501 a large sum was spent on materials delivered to Nannik the "brodster." He received velvet to be adorned with gold work, and crosses for hangings for the rood-stand and the altar, green damask to make stoles and handkerchiefs, black and blue sewing silk, Bruges thread white and blue, green and yellow ribbons bought by the ounce, buckram for lining and red and blue buckram, three quires of paper to lay under the gold-work of the capes; and to make a coat for "the rood in Calvary" satin cramoisie, silk for fringes and silk for a belt. In March 1511 there were brought from the jewel-house and handed over in the king's presence to the "brodster" four caparisons or coverings for horses: one of purple satin and another of grey damask were adorned with cloth of gold, the two others were of white damask ornamented with silk, and all were lined with canvas. These were ordered to be converted into vestments and hangings for the tables and altars of the chapels of Holyrood and Stirling. In 1513 a monk of Culross received 56s. for binding and illuminating two books for the chapel royal at Stirling. There is mention also of the purchase of brass candlesticks for the altar and of flagons and cruets of tin.

The Bishop of Galloway became in 1504 dean *ex officio* of the chapel royal; and throughout this reign grants increased its endowment. In 1501 the

quarterly wages of "the chaplains of the church" consisted of £10 received by a provost, £5 by each of seven chaplains, £2, 10s. by an unspecified beneficiary, and 40s. by each of six "children of the choir." Probably the provost was the dean, and the chaplains the canons. There were ten canonries in the church in 1504, of which three appear to have been held in 1506 by a dean, a sub-dean, and a treasurer.

In 1506 a mason had completed his "task of the old kirk," and two years later payment was made to three chaplains in "the old kirk newly erected by the present king in the castle." It would seem, therefore, that James rebuilt the original chapel of the castle, which was distinct from the chapel royal.

James IV. took much delight in the services of the chapel royal. He was, moreover, a lay brother of the Franciscan convent which he established at Stirling, and in that house, in the habit of a grey friar, he sometimes kept the Lenten fast. It may be, therefore, that he was doing penance not in the chapel royal but among the Franciscan monks, when Dunbar, from Edinburgh, wrote his "Dirge" to "King James IV. being in Strivilling":—

> "Cum hame and dwell no moir in Strivilling
> From hiddous hell cum hame and dwell,
> Quhair fische to sell is non but spirling,
> Cum hame and dwell no moir in Strivilling."

The journey to Stirling from Edinburgh was sometimes made by water, as when in October 1511 the king went Stirlingward in the *Margaret* ship.

Throughout this reign large sums were spent on the fabric of the castle. The hall was completed; locks were provided for it in 1496. The master mason of Linlithgow rode to Stirling in November of next year "to give his device to the work." A bell

was provided for the castle, and the gallery furnished. The gate tower was building in 1501; payment for the fore entry was made in 1502, for iron for the great portcullis and for the kitchen tower in 1503. The ornament of the hall was executed in plaster work: in 1503 John Giles, Englishman, brought alabaster stones and plaster from England and worked them at Stirling, and in that year and the next a French plasterer named Dorange was also employed. Sir James Pettigrew in 1502 came to Stirling "to devise" a clock. In 1504 nine plates of white iron were provided for the queen's chamber "for assizes," that is, presumably, for weighing purposes.

In 1505 a French wright came to Stirling. In that year payment was made for "the task" of the Red Tower, and from 1505 to 1508 for that of the foreyett or front gate and the forework. A painter was employed in 1507. In 1507–8 work was done on the old hall and on the old chambers on the west side of the old close; in 1511–12 much glazing was undertaken, and the great tower in the northmost corner of the castle was completed and headed from the corbels upwards; in 1513 the turnpike and back-stairs of the nether tower were roofed, and bands, rings, and roses were provided for certain windows.

The lions so frequently kept by Scottish kings had probably a heraldic significance. There was a lion-house in the courtyard of Stirling Castle in 1512.

Sir David Lindsay has left his impression of the castle in the "Farewell of Papingo":—

> "Adew fair Snawdoun, with thy towris hie,
> Thy Chapill Royal, Park and Tabill Round.
> May, June, and July wald I dwell in thee,
> War I ane man, to heir the birdis sound
> Quhilk doth agane thy Royall Rocke resound."

When after Flodden Scotland passed to a king only four months old, he was brought by his mother to Stirling Castle. For minor sovereigns to live in this house became gradually a practice. It was, of the great Scottish palaces, the one which was also an important fortress, and an obviously convenient residence for rulers who as minors were often violently guarded from abduction by violence.

The earliest guardian of James V. at the castle was the queen mother. She in April 1514 bore to James IV. a posthumous son who was baptized at Stirling by the Bishop of Caithness. His sponsors were the Prior of Dunfermline and the Archdeacon of St. Andrews who named him Alexander: he was known afterwards as the Duke of Ross. On the 6th of August Margaret married the young Earl of Angus. Thereafter she and her husband attempted to kidnap the little king from Stirling Castle, in order to set him free from the authority of Albany who then was in France. They were foiled in the attempt, but James continued the centre of family intrigues made bitter by his mother's marriage to a member of the house of Douglas. In November Margaret wrote from Stirling Castle to Henry VIII., her brother, to beg release from the dangers with which she was threatened by Home and by Arran. In July 1515, after the return of Albany, Margaret was deposed from her guardianship of her sons in favour of a committee of four lords. From Stirling Castle she defied the edict; and Albany in August blockaded the place and brought up siege guns, while an officer passed through the regality of Dunfermline to warn lieges to help in the safe keeping of the castle. Finally the queen surrendered; and the four-year-old king walked to the gate of the castle, and gave the keys to the governor, who did him homage, "and they agreed

well together." Margaret went to Edinburgh and then to England.

Late in the year occurred the death of the little Duke of Ross. The king was left in the castle then in the keepership of John, Lord Drummond, chamberlain of Strathearn. In August 1516, the lords in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh were ordered to convoy the governor when he rode with an Englishman to Stirling to see the king. Such visits of Albany were frequent during the childhood which James passed at the castle. There is mention in 1515 of John Graham, the king's trumpeter, who served him daily; and in 1516 of James Tabbaner, his minstrel, for whom a gown, doublet, and hose were provided, and who seems to have been a permanent servant. From the 1st of August 1522 John, Lord Erskine, was with the king; he may have held his later place of captain or keeper of the castle. After 1523 James, Earl of Moray, appears to have been an officer of the household; and Alan Stewart was captain of a royal guard assigned with the governor's consent.

In 1524, when the king was twelve years old, occurred the incident known as the "Erection." Albany left Scotland for France in May; and Margaret had won over certain of her son's attendants, Erskine and Borthwick. On the 26th of July she rode from Stirling Castle to Edinburgh with them and the king, and with Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and Morton. At Edinburgh on the 30th the lords signed an engagement with the queen mother, by which they acknowledged that James had left Stirling for his own good and that of the realm, and revoked and promised to annul in the next parliament all grants of authority to Albany.

From this time Stirling Castle was no longer the

chief residence of James V. although he visited it frequently. In October 1525 Champnay messenger was ordered to direct the lords and barons of Angus incontinently to be at Stirling, in order to convoy the king thence to Edinburgh.

The success of the "Erection" had transferred James from the power of Albany to that of the Douglases. In May 1528, he effected his escape from that family, not at Falkland, as is traditionally related, but at Edinburgh. Pitscottie states that he arrived at Stirling at break of day, crossed the bridge, and caused it, for fear of pursuit, to be closed behind him. Then he went to the castle and was received with much joy by Erskine, the captain, who would appear to have been attached rather to the king's person than to any party, since he had assisted in the flight of 1524. He now "gart steik the gates and drew down the portcullis, and pat the king in his bed to sleep because he had ridden all night." A prohibition to come within twelve miles of the castle was issued to Angus, and to Archibald and George Douglas and their familiars. James was a free king. He was joined at Stirling by the queen mother, and on the 6th of July the two rode to Edinburgh at the head of a great company of adherents. There were the bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Galloway, and Brechin; and of temporal lords, Argyll, Arran, Eglinton, Rothes, Bothwell, Maxwell, Avondale, Seton, Forbes, Hume, and Yestre; and followers to the number of three hundred.

James was at Stirling again in the early summer of 1529, when black satin, black velvet, and cramoisie, were delivered at the castle to make him a doublet, and Holland cloth for his sark. There is other evidence that his taste in dress was more sober than

that of his father or Perkin Warbeck. In August £10 were paid to Alexander Forester who made lists for the king.

At about this time Margaret resigned her right in Stirling Castle, one of her dower-houses, to her son. He was there for the Christmas of 1530, when an English herald attended the court. On New Year's day 1531, some Italian minstrels entertained the king. On the 30th of January an English courier brought to Stirling the pope's brief for a general council. In this month and in February, and again in May, spears were sent to the castle for use in the lists.

For much of the winter of 1531 and the succeeding Eastertide the court were again at Stirling. Once more jousting spears were procured; and in 1534 the lists beneath the castle were enlarged. In July of that year, as James was hunting in the park, he fell from his horse and received an "evil hurt." Perhaps the accident prolonged his stay, for he had not yet gone in August; and in the park he was waylaid by Archibald Douglas, who had been exiled in England and who now humbly submitted himself to the king's grace and will. James gave no full forgiveness. He "commended" Douglas to go, under escort, to Leith, and afterwards to France, where he remained until his death in Paris.

In Lent 1536, Lord William Howard interviewed James at Stirling as to a proposed meeting between the English and Scottish kings, in which the latter was to be introduced to the new opinions on religion. The scheme had as little result as that of an English marriage for the king, who in August set sail for France to fetch his bride. Either, however, by the design of those who favoured an English alliance, or by accident, his ships took a wrong course, and he returned to the

western isles and landed at Rothesay. There he found horses and men to convey him to Stirling Castle, where he remained until he heard that his ship had reached the road of Leith, when he joined her and journeyed to Paris.

After her landing in Scotland Queen Mary of Guise came from Falkland to Stirling, where she was formally received by the town and the castle. Thence she went to Edinburgh by way of Linlithgow. In this year, 1538, James received at Stirling six English bows, all purchased, which he gave away.

In the spring of 1539 he again held the tourneys which were so favourite an amusement of the court when at this castle. His "harness, spears, and other jousting gear" were carried from Edinburgh to Stirling. During the same visit there were delivered at the castle a silver stoup for "inbringing the king's collation," and three quarters of an ell of red satin to make for him a skull-cap. Two children, for whom were provided coats in "couleur de roi," came from Aberdeen to sing in the chapel royal; and Jane, the French dwarf at the castle, received a gown of "light blue purple" velvet lined with light blue, and a kirtle lined with green.

Probably the last occasion on which James visited the castle was in the spring of 1542. The queen seems to have remained there after his departure; in July Ormond pursuivant warned the lords of Stirlingshire and the Lothians to convoy her from the castle to Peebles.

There is little on record as to the park and the gardens in the reign of James V. Until 1531, when the castle had been handed over to the king, the expenses of upkeep were the private affair of Queen Margaret. The keeper of the park, like the gardener,

received after that date an annual fee and an allowance of oatmeal. In 1533 payment was made for the building of the garden dike, and Sir John Nicholson was rewarded for feeding two cranes and a peacock which belonged to the castle. £20 were awarded to William Bell in 1539 to help him to construct a "kechpule" or tennis-court in Stirling, but this may have lain outside the precincts of the castle. A new stable was mended and furnished in 1538, and there is evidence of its importance, for we hear of the king's great horse at Stirling and of a Dutch horse led thither. Nine sheepskins dressed like Spanish leather were used to cover three steel saddles. In 1534 a dog-house was made.

Throughout this reign there were maintained a staff of eight night and one day watchmen and two porters.

The building of the palace, as distinct from the castle, is ascribed to James V., and as at Linlithgow, the king is said to have been guided in the work by his favourite, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart. The Exchequer Rolls and the treasurer's accounts contain however far fewer detailed entries with regard to building at Stirling in this reign than in the last. It is noticed that in the first year of the reign more than £28 were spent on the interior by order of the queen mother; and this, together with the record of the payment made in 1496 to Walter Marlyonne, mason, for "biggin of the king's hous," proves that the work had been at least begun by James IV. In 1542 two kitchens had been made.

After the death of James V., Stirling Castle became again the residence of a child sovereign, the infant Queen Mary, who with her mother was brought thither from Linlithgow in August 1543. On Sun-

day the 9th of September, at about ten in the morning, she was crowned in the chapel royal, "with such solemnity," wrote Sadler to Henry VIII., "as they do use in this country, which is not very costly." The crown was borne by Arran, the governor, the sceptre by Lennox, and the sword by Argyll. Others who were at the castle were Cardinal Beaton, Bothwell, Huntly, and many more, all of the party which inclined to French influence and were opposed to that of England. Pitscottie tells us that this court of Mary of Guise was like that of "Venus and Cupid in time of fresh May." "There was sic dancing, singing, playing and merrieness that no man would have tired therein." He states that both Lennox and Bothwell aspired to the hand of the queen mother, and that they daily vied with each other in the gallantry of their behaviour and their dress, and in "dancing, shooting, singing, jousting, and running of great horses in the lists." Bothwell is described as "ane yong lusty gentleman, fair and pleasant in sight of weman . . . whitely and something hingand schoulderit and gaed forward, with gentle and human countenance." He was worsted at all games by Lennox, who owing to his French education with his uncle d'Aubigné was well practised in warlike exercises, and who was "ane strang man of personage, weil schapen in portraiture . . . pleasant faced." Mary gave to either suitor fair words only.

Meanwhile the other party in Scottish politics was engaged in a close correspondence with Henry VIII., whose object it was to gain possession of the young queen. Trust was at first placed in Arran, who was directed to get into his hands Stirling, that Henry might have a place more convenient than Berwick in which to lay his treasure. Then Arran's defection to the party of the queen mother and the cardinal became

known. Two days after the coronation, Henry wrote to Angus his desire that his friends should seize Stirling Castle and the persons of Arran, the cardinal, and the little queen. Sadler, on the 5th of October, informed his master that the castle was well furnished with ordnance and artillery, and that its situation enabled the queen's guardians to convey her at any moment of peril into the impenetrable fastnesses of the Highlands. Yet he held out hopes that a siege might be undertaken if sufficient money were advanced. The Scots were, however, less sanguine. Angus and his party made a statement as to the impossibility of gaining possession of the queen. To do so by stealth, by obtaining leave to visit her, was not feasible, because the suspicion of her guardians was such that none of their party would ever be permitted to enter the castle. No noble in the realm might do so with more than one or two servants in his company, and only the queen dowager had free access to her daughter. While they had been in the town of Stirling the captain had remained within the castle, and had kept all the guns "mounted, rammed, and charged," that he might beat them out of the town with shot and ordnance if they did anything derogatory to the governor's authority.

On the very day on which this declaration was written to Henry, the legate and the French ambassador arrived at the castle with money and munition.

On Christmas day 1543 Arran lost a hundred crowns as he played cards with the queen mother in Stirling Castle.

In June 1544 he was deprived of her support. Glencairn, Angus, and certain other Douglases came to Stirling Castle to speak to Mary of Guise; and they made various accusations against Arran, and

summoned him to resign his governorship to the dowager queen, who for a short time had joined their faction. Arran asked for a day to consider his answer, and then with only two men he stole out of Stirling and retired to Blackness Castle.

He was again received by the queen mother at the castle in 1545, after Ancrum fight, when she was much rejoiced by his victory over the English. In July of that year the privy council gave the sole care of the queen's person at Stirling Castle to John, Lord Erskine, still keeper, and to Alexander, Lord Livingstone. Each was paid at the rate of £60 a month; to Erskine were assigned certain sixteen men, and to Livingstone certain twelve, who were exempted from obligation to arm against England or for other cause, and deputed with their households to remain in the castle.

In September Thomas Forrest, pursuivant, passed to Stirling with the fiery cross that the people might gather to help Arran to resist the Englishmen.

In the same year Longe de Montgomery, with treasure and five hundred men-at-arms, arrived in Scotland from France. While some of his company went to the cardinal's city of St. Andrews, there to winter, he came to Stirling. He had in the French court been a comrade of Lennox, who long since had been estranged from Mary and the cardinal and had left the country. Therefore Longe was no friend to Beaton, and on one occasion, in the queen mother's presence, he mocked and scorned him for broken promises to Lennox. Then the cardinal, in anger, gave him the lie, whereupon Longe pulled out his knife and would have stabbed the other had he not been hurled to the door. He had called the cardinal a false priest, who had spent the French

king's money in vain, and who had by slanderous reports deprived the Earl of Lennox of the favour of the king of France. It was impossible for the two to remain in the same house, and Mary asked the cardinal to retire for a while to his city. In St. Andrews he entertained the lieutenants of Longe, but Longe himself would not look at him from that hour. The Frenchman departed in the spring.

Lennox had become attached meanwhile to the English interest. On the 24th of August 1547, he and Wharton wrote to Somerset that they had received from him ten proclamations, of which one was to be posted on the gate of Stirling Castle. It must have summoned Scottish subjects to join the invading army of England, from the gate of the fortress in which was Mary of Guise, the chief enemy of the English. This was the army which on the 10th of September fought the battle of Pinkie Cleuch, so disastrous to Scotland. After their defeat Arran, his brother Archbishop Hamilton, and some others fled to Stirling Castle, and remained for a time with the queen mother. She is said to have concealed her resentment against the governor who had suffered such calamities to happen, that she might win his consent to the sending of her daughter to France.

For the little Queen Mary, now nearly five years old, was again the prize for which two parties were hotly contesting. On the 16th of September Somerset sent Norroy Herald to the queen mother and the council at Stirling. His mission in Scotland was, he declared, "to forward the godly purpose" of the marriage of the Scottish queen and Edward VI. In answer Mary of Guise removed the queen to Inchmahone in the Lake of Menteith. Thence in February 1548 the fear of another English invasion caused her

to be taken to Dumbarton. On the 2nd of August she set sail on the western sea for France with the four Maries, who were her child friends, and with Erskine her guardian at Stirling, her brother Lord James Stewart, and many others.

In June 1549 the lands forfeited by Lennox were granted to William, Earl of Montrose, for the service which he had done, by his care of the castle of Stirling and of the queen, during the past dangerous time of war.

After the departure of the queen, Stirling Castle is for some years unknown to history. It figures, though not importantly, in the struggle between the queen mother, then regent, and the lords of the congregation. At Stirling Mary of Guise heard of the havoc wrought by the iconoclasts in Perth in 1559, and from Stirling, with her forces, she went to Auchterarder. After leaving Perth in June she was at the castle, on her way to Falkland. In December the place was occupied by the French, who however retired hastily when Winter's fleet entered the Firth of Forth. In January 1560 they had recovered Stirling, and they left it only in March.

The battery at the castle which commands Stirling Bridge, and is still called "the French battery," is said to have been erected by Mary of Guise.

It was in September 1561 that Queen Mary, during her first and triumphant progress through her kingdom, came back to the castle from which exactly fourteen years before she had been carried by stealth as a little child. She stayed for two days, and her visit was distinguished by an escape from death. A burning candle set fire to the curtains and the tester of her bed, and she was in danger of being smothered in her sleep by the smoke. Men said an ancient prophecy,

that a queen should be burnt at Stirling, was fulfilled.

She paid subsequent visits to the castle. In May 1565 she there created Darnley knight of Torbolton, Lord Ardmannach, and Earl of Ross. Only when this ceremony was completed would she accord an audience to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, who came to remonstrate on her projected marriage. He dined with the queen, and reported to Elizabeth that English interference might still prevent the wedding. But in September "King Henry" and Queen Mary were together at Stirling Castle; the inhabitants of Strathearn met them at Stirling Bridge on their arrival.

Two years later, on the 10th of December, the queen and the court went from Holyrood to Stirling for the baptism of the infant prince. That week the lords and ambassadors arrived in the town: the comte de Brienne, ambassador from the court of France, with thirty horse in his train, on the 12th; on the 13th the Earl of Bedford, English ambassador, who was convoyed by the Abbot of Arbroath and his friends. On this day the privy council ordained that since there was so great a concourse in the borough, a herald should at the market cross proclaim that all lieges were charged to keep the peace on pain of death or other penalty. None must carry culverins, daggers, pistolets, or any weapon except a sword and a whinger; the captain, constable, and keepers of the castle, and the provost and bailies of the borough, were ordered to search out and apprehend the disobedient and confiscate their arms.

The baptismal ceremony took place on the 17th. From the door of the prince's chamber to that of the chapel royal the barons and gentlemen of Scotland stood ranked on either side of the way, holding wax

torches in their hands. Between them the prince was borne by Lady Argyll, commissioned to act as "cummer" in place of the Queen of England, and by the French ambassador and du Croc, who on this occasion represented the Duke of Savoy. They were followed by Athol with a great torch of wax, and by Eglinton, Sempill, and Ross, who carried the laver and basin and other necessaries for the ceremony. At the chapel door the prince was received by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who wore his pontifical robes, and bore all the insignia of his office. He was assisted in an elaborate musical service by the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Ross, and the Prior of Whitthern, all wearing their rochets and hoods; and the canons of the chapel were present in their habits and copes. Thus the names of James Charles were given to the heir to the throne. The religious scruples of Huntly, Moray, Bothwell, and Bedford prevented them from entering the chapel.

After the ceremony all the company passed into the great hall for supper. The queen sat at the middle of the table with de Brienne on her right, Bedford on her left, and du Croc at the end of the board; and she and each ambassador had chief nobles of the kingdom for carver, cupper, and sewer. The lords entered the hall bearing in their hands fair torches, well ordered; and before the meat was brought in there was a procession of heralds, macers, and trumpeters, followed by the three masters of the household, after whom came singly Seton and Argyll. The feast was succeeded by dancing and music.

On the evening of the 19th the queen entertained the lords and ambassadors. Maskery and music preceded a banquet. Afterwards there was in the churchyard the spectacle of a sham fort, and a display of

artillery, fireballs, and fire-spears. Then in the castle the queen created the little prince Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, and Baron of Renfrew; and she dubbed several knights.

The ambassadors left Stirling on the 22nd. The queen and the prince remained until the 14th of January, when they too returned to Edinburgh.

On the 20th of March the infant prince was brought back to Stirling. The danger of the times had caused him to be taken away from Holyrood, and he was given into the keepership of Lord Erskine, who had come to be known by the title of the greater dignity he had acquired, that of the earldom of Mar. In April the earl received a grant in tail male of the captaincy of Stirling Castle, the keepership of the park, the shrievalty of the sheriffdom, and the bailiwick and chamberlainry of the lordship.

On the 21st of April Queen Mary came for the last time to Stirling, to visit her son. Three days later, as she was on her way back to Edinburgh, her alleged abduction by Bothwell took place.

Three months afterwards the little prince was again the central figure of a scene enacted in the chapel royal, a ceremony hastily performed by a small band of men in momentary fear of interruption, their minds filled with thoughts of past dangers and rumours of dangers to come. On the 29th of July, at about two in the afternoon, townsmen of Stirling and soldiers gathered on the castle hill ready for a sudden outbreak or attack. Then Lady Mar issued out of the castle with the prince in her arms, and went towards the chapel. She was followed by her husband and by Morton, Athol, Glencairn, Hume, Lindsay, Ruthven, Sanquhar, and some undistinguished barons. When they had reached the chapel, Adam, Bishop of Orkney,

delivered an exhortation; and then he anointed the prince, on whose head Athol placed the crown. The little procession returned to the castle; Athol with the crown, Morton with the sceptre, Glencairn with the sword, and Mar who carried King James VI.

The twelve succeeding years were passed by the king in Stirling Castle. Pedagogues were appointed for him before 1572, George Buchanan and Peter Young, and his schoolroom on the south-eastern side of the building can still be seen. It is in these years that he must have acquired the considerable learning, the hatred of narrow Puritanism, and the pedantry which afterwards distinguished him. When he was seven years old he was visited by Henry Killigrew, who has left an account of his impressions. The Englishman found a precocious boy, "well grown in body and spirit," and full of courtly speeches. He desired his thanks and commendations to Queen Elizabeth, to whom he declared himself much bound, "yea, more than to his own mother." Buchanan and Young, who were exhibiting their pupil, requested Killigrew to choose any chapter out of the Bible; and James thereupon astonished his visitor by translating it from Latin to French and from French to English, in such manner that few could have added anything to his versions. He spoke French marvellously well. It is surprising to hear that his masters also made the king dance before Killigrew, and that he acquitted himself with a very good grace. He was at this time still under the charge of women, except when he "went to his book."

Buchanan, while he was the king's schoolmaster, was writing his History of Scotland and reading the literature of the period; and in Stirling Castle many events connected with the history of the day were

enacted, which all had part in the education of the king.

In February, and again in March 1569, the Regent Moray and a great part of the nobility visited the king. In August, at a council held in Stirling, Thomas Crawford accused Maitland of Lethington and James Balfour of the murder of Darnley. They were imprisoned for a time in the castle. On the 19th of January 1570, the English envoys Gate and Drury arrived at Stirling to see the regent. He had sent two or three men to meet them on their way, and himself received them at the lower end of the hall very courteously, and with friendly embraces. Dinner was announced in the midst of speech, and the envoys dined with the regent, and were afterwards interviewed by him in his bed-chamber, when he again showed himself "very hearty." A few days later Moray was murdered at Linlithgow; and on the 28th, Mar wrote from Stirling to Elizabeth to beg her aid in his custody of the King of Scotland, who was now in great danger.

In August the new regent, the king's grandfather, Lennox, came to Stirling, on his way to follow northwards to his own country the Earl of Huntly. He received Morton at the castle in April 1571.

In August, to answer the parliament which Kirkcaldy held for Queen Mary in Edinburgh, Lennox in Stirling convened a king's parliament. The five-year-old king, clad in the magnificent robe royal, rode from the castle to the tolbooth in Stirling, the emblems of his office borne before him by Glencairn, Crawford, and Angus: the sword, sceptre, and crown were new, because those anciently used were possessed by his mother's friends. "My lords and

others, true subjects," he said, when he had arrived in the presence of the estates, speaking apparently with parrot-like exactitude, "we are convenit here as I understand to do justice; and because my age will not suffer me to do my charge by myself, I have given my power to my guidsire as regent, and you to do; and you will answer to God and to me hereafter." A spontaneous remark was quoted as a prophetic utterance; James noticed a hole in the roof, and pointing to it he said, "There is a hole in this parliament."

A week later, on the 3rd of September, the lords assembled for the parliament were still in Stirling borough. From Edinburgh Kirkcaldy sent Huntly and Claude Hamilton, and Buccleuch and Ferniehurst, with a company of troopers; and these men stole into the town when all were in bed, and for two and a half hours they could work their will. They went to the lodgings of all the nobles in turn, forced an entrance and took prisoners the occupants, the lords of the king's parliament, Lennox among the rest. At the house of Morton they received a check, for the earl with only eight men maintained a defence; and so protracted was the siege which ensued that the troopers, "full-handed men of Teviotdale and Liddesdale," wearied and betook themselves to plunder. The town was in wild confusion; houses blazed; women leapt in panic from the windows, and the dead bodies of some of them lay in the street. The prisoners were guarded near the gate by several of the attacking lords. However the delay before Morton's house gave time for a party to charge to the rescue from the castle. The troopers had dispersed in their spoiling of the town, and the men of the castle galloped unchecked through the borough

and down to the gate to set free the prisoners. But when rescue seemed inevitable, one of the invaders, Calder by name, shot the Earl of Lennox. His captor, Spens of Wormiston, was killed in a gallant attempt to save his life. Thus was slain James's grandfather, the second regent of his minority.

He was succeeded in his office by the keeper of Stirling, the Earl of Mar, who in consequence was afterwards frequently absent from the castle. This house was visited in 1572, as well as other strongholds in the hands of the king's party, by the English ambassador. On the 6th of August the regent rode thither from Edinburgh, and on the 11th he there received du Croc, ambassador of the King of France, who was endeavouring to negotiate a peace. On the 18th of October Mar died in Stirling Castle, wearied to death, it was said, by the endless strife in the realm. "The maist cause of his deid was that he luvit peace and culd nocht have the same." By his will he left the keeping of the king and of the castle to his brother, Alexander, Master of Erskine. His son, a boy of eleven, was the king's companion.

The new regent, Morton, ruled in November that James should remain at Stirling; and the Master of Erskine undertook on behalf of himself and all friends and servants of the Earl of Mar to keep the castle for the king's use under the regent's direction. He would not suffer the king to be removed, nor allow any disaffected to have access to him. No earl would be received in the castle with more than two servants, no lord with more than one, and no gentleman who was attended, nor any person who bore armour or weapons. The number of the household would not be increased. The pedagogues of the king, Buchanan and Young, would not be removed

without the regent's consent, nor ever replaced by any of religious profession which differed from theirs, or any whom the regent did not approve. In the castle there would be, as heretofore, public religious exercise according to the form sanctioned by parliament. The appointment of Alexander under these conditions was confirmed by an ordinance of the council and an act of parliament. It was decreed, moreover, that of four friends of the house of Erskine, the Master himself, the Earl of Buchan, William Douglas of Lochleven, and David, commendator of Dryburgh, two must always be in the castle; and that Lady Mar should continue her "government towards the king's mouth and the ordering of his person."

Meanwhile, "the bairn" was equally an object to the other party in politics. There were rumours, in the spring of 1573, of a scheme to convey him to France. The years of Morton's regency were however peaceful, and no great event is chronicled in the history of the castle. In May 1573 James had small-pox during an epidemic of that disease in Stirling.

In 1578 the stirring times returned. Argyll arrived at the castle in February, and was followed by Athol. They two and the Master of Erskine were all enemies to Morton, and they persuaded the king to summon a convention of the nobility. At the meeting Morton resigned his regency; and the king, who was not yet twelve years old, himself assumed the government, "howbeit," according to Moysie, "he knew it would be troublesome to him." His personal rule was naturally at this time a fiction, but the troubles arrived speedily. Before the convened nobles had dispersed, the followers of Crawford and of Glamis, between whom there was a feud, engaged in a brawl in the streets of Stirling. Glamis

was shot through the head, and Crawford taken to the castle.

The young Earl of Mar had grown jealous of the authority of his uncle the Master. At six o'clock on the morning of the 26th of April, he and his two natural brothers, the commendators of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, came to the gate of Stirling Castle and called for the keys as though they wished to go hunting. When the Master arrived to let them out he was drawn aside by the two commendators, and they remonstrated with him for having so long retained the custody of the king and the castle, to which his nephew had hereditary right. Alexander Erskine made excuses, but presently he perceived that the business was serious. He saw that the object of the others was to seize the king's person, and he reached for a halberd; his servants pressed forward to his assistance, and there was a scuffle and much uproar. Argyll in his chamber in the castle was aroused, and he came with a few men to the scene of strife. But he found that all was once more quiet; the Master was inclined to compromise, to yield his possession if the earl would agree to withdraw in peace. His eldest son had been crushed in the throng, and died next day of his injuries; and the king, awakened from sleep, was in his chamber tearing his hair in an agony of fear, and crying that he knew the Master was slain. All present at the fray, including Buchanan, wrote an account of the matter to the council and begged that it might not be noticed.

Argyll, however, departed to levy forces with the intention of returning within two days; and the council, on receipt of the report, "digested hot humours," and sent Montrose to Stirling to discover the state of matters, and obtain that there should be quietness about the king and no change in the arrange-

ments of his household before the next parliament. Montrose gave a hopeful account of his visit; yet the lords, like Argyll, raised their men in fear of dangerous contingencies, and rode to Stirling, where they held a council. On the 3rd of May they passed an ordinance that John, Earl of Mar, should keep Stirling Castle, and attend on the king and guard him at the direction of the council, since it was at this house that James still thought it convenient to reside, now that he had himself assumed the government of the country. The conditions laid down when Alexander Erskine undertook the custody were repeated, with the exception of those which regarded the king's education. This ruling of the council was confirmed by an act of parliament later in the year.

The whole incident was regarded generally as a move of the dispossessed Morton, who had made use of the jealousy of young Mar. When he had been relieved of the cares of the regency, Morton had gone to Lochleven Castle to "make alleys and gardens," but it was suspected that he had other interests. At this time Angus and many friends of the Douglases held their forces in readiness. Morton himself, however, when accused at his trial three years later of complicity in the disturbance, replied, "As I sall answer to God, I knew nothing of it whill it was done." In 1584 the affair figured in the arraignment of Mar for treason.

It served, in any case, the purposes of Morton. On the 28th of May he arrived at Stirling where he was lodged in the castle; and, already the friend of the keeper, he contrived to ingratiate himself also with the king. It was decided to hold a parliament, not in the tolbooth of Stirling but in the hall of the castle, and much discontent ensued. There were rumours that the

king was a prisoner, publicly contradicted by a statement of the council. On the 15th of July the king held in the castle a parliament, which he himself declared to be free and public, and there convened only because of the ruinous state of the tolbooth. There had indeed been a hole in the roof of that building in 1571. In 1584, however, the place of this parliament constituted the second clause in Mar's indictment.

In March 1579 it was declared that, in spite of the regulation made when the custody of the castle was granted to the Earl of Mar, persons had come to the borough of Stirling bearing daggers, pistolets, jacks, and other weapons, and wearing secret armour. A proclamation against such action was therefore ordered at the market cross. On the 16th of the month the council asked the king where he thought good to reside, and he replied, in Stirling Castle; and gave his assurance not to go elsewhere except when in summer he went for pastime and recreation to the park. An act of council embodied the decision: the king, when he wished to hunt or to ride or walk would first give warning to Mar, and would go accompanied by him and the household servants and by members of the council. If ever he desired to go so far that he could not return to the castle at night, he would first give notice to the estates, that they might arrange for his convoy and his residence. Such elaborate precautions were necessary for the safe keeping of his person.

At this time Peter Young acted as court almoner. In April he rendered a petition to the king and council. He stated that a number of poor people continually thronged the gates of Stirling Castle, and provided an unpleasant and lamentable spectacle, which "faschit and inquietit" those who had resort to his Majesty. Moreover, the course of charity was

thereby hindered; for while strong beggars obtained alms, impotent creatures escaped notice; and certain notorious vagabonds who came from Edinburgh and all parts of the realm convened at Stirling with as much regularity as though they had been summoned by proclamation. Unless a remedy were provided Peter declared himself unable to keep from the king the hideous sight of the beggars, or to administer to good purpose the king's alms. The council responded by an order for an inquiry as to how the strong and idle beggars might be punished, while the necessitous were duly succoured.

In June Nau, Queen Mary's secretary, arrived in Stirling on an embassy to James. His missive was however addressed "To our sone the Prince of Scotland," and because it did not acknowledge James's sovereignty the ambassador was dismissed without an audience, and escaped punishment only because he claimed to hold a license from the Queen of England.

Esme Stewart, lord of Aubigny, came to Scotland in September, and was received by the king at Stirling on the 15th. "He wes a man of comely proportion, civil behaviour, read-beardit, honest in conversation, weil likit of be the king and a part of the nobility at the first."

On the 29th, in stormy weather, the king at last left Stirling to visit his capital city.

He returned to the castle in February 1580. There, in this spring, he conferred on d'Aubigny the earldom of Lennox which his uncle had resigned. Intrigues were many in the court: it was said that Lennox and Argyll wished to take James from the custody of Mar to Dumbarton Castle, and that Morton had a design to seize him; and there was another plot to persuade him suddenly to go back to Edinburgh.

The enemies of Mar urged that the earl and his family and household made a profit of the king's stay in the castle and squandered his revenues. They urged that at fourteen years old James should no longer be in the charge of a private subject. That, however, the motives of all of them were not disinterested is rendered probable by a paper dated in June of this year, in which are cited the methods by which the king was to be induced to suffer his transport to France: he was to be brought to doubt his security at Stirling, to dislike his keepers, and to desire a change in his council.

Lennox was at this time supreme in the kingdom. In March 1581 the king summoned Stirling Castle, of which it was suspected that Mar, a chief enemy of Lennox, was making sure for his own purposes. In October Mar received at the castle Angus, who had lately been forfeited by parliament.

Mar was in August 1582 one of the Ruthven raiders. On the 30th he, with Bothwell, Glencairn, Gowrie, Lindsay, the Master of Oliphant, and some four hundred men, brought the king, their captive, to Stirling Castle. The stay of the court was distinguished by the examination of George Douglas, accused of part in a plot for maintaining the equal authority of the king and Queen Mary; and by a permission given on the petition of the English ambassador Bowes to the exiled Angus to return to the country.

In 1584 Stirling Castle again came conspicuously into history. The Ruthven raiders had been overthrown; Arran was pre-eminent in the kingdom. In April Mar, the abbots of Paisley and Dryburgh, and certain friends of Angus, seized the castle and town of Stirling. They were joined by Angus and the Master of Glamis; and the castle, the bridge, and the gates

were victualled and placed in a state of defence. The magistrates of the borough had been taken prisoners.

But on the 21st Colonel Stewart, with Scotts and Elliots to the number of about six hundred, and some fifteen hundred men of Glasgow, marched to Falkirk, where he met the Master of Livingstone and his forces. On the same day Angus, Mar, Glamis, and the other rebel leaders were charged to surrender on pain of treason.

From the 20th to the 24th of April repeated proclamations enjoined all subjects to assemble with thirty days' provisions, in order to follow the king to Stirling. The lords in the castle realised approaching failure, and fled; and the magistrates brought the keys of the town to Stewart at Falkirk. The remainder of the garrison of the castle, some of them gentlemen, and some poor soldiers, disagreed; one party would have held out until their lives were promised to them, while others wished to surrender unconditionally. In the event at the first summons on the 27th they yielded absolutely to Livingstone, save for a few who leapt from the walls of the castle. Thirty were warded in the tolbooth. On the 28th a proclamation at the market cross gave leave to all commons, farmers, mail-men, unlanded men, burgesses, craftsmen, and inhabitants of boroughs, with the exception of five hundred men of Edinburgh, to disperse to their homes. Yet on the 6th of May the forces still with the king were estimated at 12,000. Alexander Livingstone was commended for his service, and ordered now to surrender the castle to Arran.

Retribution followed. Gowrie, a chief of the disgraced party, was had to Stirling; and on the 2nd of May he was, with Archibald Douglas and John Forbes, tried in Lady Mar's lodging and found

guilty of treason. Douglas and Forbes were hanged at the market cross; but Gowrie that same evening, beneath the castle wall, "uttered his harangue with ane guid countenance and in guid language and with ane humble spirit;" and then was beheaded.

All who had taken part with the rebels, or who had rendered help to them, were likewise declared guilty of treason. Yet of the garrison of the castle only four, of whom two were Douglases, were eventually brought to the scaffold. Within the year occurred the forfeiture, in which figured this occupation of the castle, of John, Earl of Mar, Agnes Drummond his countess, and Dame Annabel his mother.

It was at Stirling also that the next move in this game of Scottish politics was played. The disgraced lords were exiles in England, but with English help they organised a movement which left James practically unsupported. He was in the late autumn of 1585 at Stirling Castle. Douglases, Hamiltons, and Maxwells marched northwards from the border; the Master of Gray was raising Fife with the secret intention of seizing Perth. Behind the actions of the opposing parties there was the ancient antagonism between the English and the French factions in Scotland; but there was also a modern force, the power of the men attached to the reformed polity of the church, the "godly," who all supported the exiled lords and seconded the influence of Elizabeth's ministers.

Arran heard of the advance of the exiles, and went to Stirling to inform the king. Gray was summoned to court, but persuaded James of his innocence. Then came the news of the imminence of the danger. The lords had joined forces at Torwood; on the 1st of November, some three or four thousand strong, they pitched their camp at St. Ninian's chapel within one

mile of Stirling town, and all that night they stood prepared for attack. Throughout the night Arran, with Montrose, kept watch from the walls of the borough; but with the morning he made good an escape, and the rest of the court party took refuge within the castle.

At dawn the exiled lords entered the town at various points: so little resistance was offered that only three or four persons were slain in all. Many townsmen joined the invading party. The "sincerest professors" had published a motion to abstain from all unnecessary effusion of blood; and the occupation of the town appears to have been on the whole orderly. Yet there was a "great reif of horse and guids by William Kinmonthe and his bairns." The castle was besieged: the ensigns of the lords were planted before it, and only sufficient food for the king's table was suffered to enter. It was not victualled, and very soon James caused the white flag to be raised and offered to surrender on condition his life, honour, and estate were preserved; the lives of Montrose, Crawford, and Colonel Stewart spared; and all matters transacted in peace. The lords agreed to the first and last clauses, but as to the other they replied that the persons named had troubled the country and must be delivered to justice. They in turn asked the king to grant that the abuses and corruptions which through abusers of authority had crept into the kirk and commonweal should be reformed. In pledge they requested that he would deliver to them the castles and strong places, as well as the persons of the troublers of the estate. The latter were to be committed to justice; and they desired further that the royal guard should be changed and its captain chosen by themselves.

The king was in no position to dictate terms. In the evening of the 4th of November the gates of the castle were thrown open, and the lords, barons, and gentlemen in great numbers entered, and came into the royal presence. They protested their loyalty and their innocence of all evil intent; and James told them that where weapons had spoken so loudly there was no need for words. He added discreetly a confession that his confidence had been too long abused, that the mighty hand of God had brought them thus bloodlessly; and he concluded with words of welcome. Montrose and Crawford prepared to depart when first, owing to the existence of particular enmities, security had been taken between Angus and Montrose and between Crawford and the Master of Glamis. Mar was restored to his ancient keepership of the castle, which with his other dignities he had lost in the previous year; and a new guard was appointed, of whom the Master of Glamis became captain. On the 9th the court left Stirling for Linlithgow.

Walsingham some weeks later received news of a report that during the siege James had done his best to bribe William Maxwell of Newark to suffer him to escape through a secret postern of the castle.

On the 1st of August 1588 it was ordered, among other preparations for resistance to the great Armada, that a bale should be burnt and a watch kept on the rock of Stirling Castle.

In 1593, on the 27th of December, the king with the queen came to Stirling, where it had been decided that the queen's confinement should take place. The castle was undergoing repair, and until such was completed the court were lodged first at Argyll's house and then at Lady Mar's lodging. In the king's chamber in the castle, between three and four o'clock

on the morning of the 19th of February 1594, a prince was born, to the great joy of all subjects, who made manifest their pleasure by many bonfires and by dancing and playing, "as gif the pepill had been daft for mirth." Puritanism does not seem yet to have had a great effect on manners.

The baptism took place at Stirling in September; and the chapel royal is said to have been rebuilt in preparation for the event. The existing chapel dates indeed from this reign, and at the time of the baptism it was in a state to allow of the rite; but it is impossible that its demolition and its rebuilding should have been accomplished in a few months. In August the ambassadors of sundry princes and commonwealths, sent to be present at the ceremony, were assembled in the borough. A proclamation was ordered at the market cross for their friendly and courteous entertainment by all noblemen, gentlemen, and others, who must to such end retain in their company only the discreet, the courteous, the well inclined, and the honest.

The prince, on the 4th of September, was carried from his chamber to the chapel by Suffolk and Bowes, the English ambassadors. A sermon was preached by Patrick Galloway; and then the baptismal rite was performed by David Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, who afterwards delivered a Latin oration. Four or five days later the ambassadors of Denmark, the Empire, Flanders, and England took their leave of the king, who gave to each a gold chain. Of them all the Flemings had made the most valuable present to the prince; the English had given a cupboard richly wrought.

For the last time Stirling Castle now became the residence of a minor prince, Henry, the heir to the

throne. He did not escape the lot of his kind: throughout 1595 there was strife between Mar and Maitland; and it is said that the queen, with Maitland and with Cessford and Buccleuch, entertained a plot for removing her son from Mar's custody by the time-honoured expedient of kidnapping. In 1600 the privy council decreed that when the king was not at Stirling no earl might enter the castle with more than four persons in his train, no lord with more than two, no baron with more than one, and no other person who had any escort. None might carry any weapons into the castle, except earls, lords, and barons, who might retain their swords. The execution of this order was entrusted to John, Earl of Mar, as keeper of the castle and the prince.

On various occasions in these last years before his departure to England James VI. was at Stirling. In 1598 he made a banquet at the castle to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Holstein, and there were great drinking and many pastimes, and a presentation of rich gifts.

In May 1603 Mar received a discharge for his custody of the prince, and was ordered to deliver him to Lennox. At Windsor, in July, certain of the Scottish council exonerated the earl for all the offences with which the queen had charged him.

In the years which elapsed before the king's next visit to Scotland, Stirling Castle was the prison in 1606 of some of the ministers who held the general assembly of Aberdeen. From 1608 to 1610 it was that of Huntly.

A commission was granted in April 1616 to the Bishop of Galloway. He stated that the king had ratified the ancient foundation of the chapel in so far as concerned the ordering of the music and in other

respects not repugnant to true religion; but of those who served the chapel some were ignorant of the art and science of music, and others had deserted their charge. The bishop therefore, with certain associates, was ordered to hold one or more courts, at which all who pretended to be beneficiaries of the chapel must be examined as to their ability and further qualifications, their residence and their discharge of their duties. Such as stood the test were to be urged to take oath to the authority of the king and of the bishop as ordinary, and to find caution for their residence at Stirling or Holyrood; and the unfit were to be deprived.

In May there were further preparations for the king's visit in the next year. The master of the works was ordered to demolish the old entry between the outer and inner gates of the castle and the little room on either side of it, and to use the stones for repairs. The roof of the king's kitchen, the court to the west of it, the bakehouse and brewery, and the roof of the tower above the inner gate, were to be taken down and made again. James was at Stirling Castle from the 30th of June to the 3rd of July 1617. He was received at his entry into the town by Robert Murray, commissary of Stirling; and two hexameter poems were presented to him.

In the succeeding years there were issued ordinances, in expectation of royal visits, as to the preservation of game, as to the evacuation of the park and castle, as to repairs, and as to the entertainment of the royal train. All the directions were like those concerned with other palaces. The master of the works was instructed in 1625 to mend, and where necessary to renew, the roof of the great hall of the castle, of the two great box windows, of the chapel, the west gallery of the new work between the kings'

and the queen's quarters, and the toofalls on the east side of the new work above the king's cabinet. He was ordered to build up the stonework of a great part of the foundation of the west quarter which was above the barres, and to raise to a height of three feet all the bartisene of that quarter which had fallen down. The long wall on the north side of the garden and chapel was to be mended; and the wall along and down the craig, and in front of the outer gate by which the deer were enclosed, to be repaired. In 1626 Sir Harry Bruce visited the castle in order to examine its munition. Charles I. was at Stirling Castle in June 1633.

From the date of the outbreak of the Civil War until modern times Stirling Castle has been distinguished not as a residence of kings but as a stronghold and a garrison. Its history came to be again, as it had been in the Middle Ages, a military history.

Its strategic importance was realised by the Covenanting party. They were keeping in 1638 a strict watch upon it; and Mar could obtain provision for it only by their leave. In 1640 it was enacted in parliament that this castle, and those of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, might be entrusted only to natives of Scotland who were of proved worth. No charge or service in them was to be committed to any who had not taken an oath of fidelity, to be kept on pain of all rigorous punishments applicable to traitors. The captains and commanders of the castles were to be chosen by the king and parliament, or in the intervals of parliamentary sessions by the council, pending a ratification by parliament. A saving clause recognised the hereditary right of the Earl of Mar to the keepership. In 1642 the keepership and captaincy of Stirling were granted anew by the king to John, Lord

Erskine, the son and heir of Mar, in tail male. Such act had the effect of a settlement. The park, meadow, gardens, butts, and Gallowhills were included in the custody bestowed; and the keepers had a right to pasture in the park six mares and their foals of two years. In April 1644 a certain Captain John Wallace was, with the consent of Mar, appointed to command a garrison which should remain in the castle until the restoration of peace. He was, however, sent to Ireland later in the year; and it was ordained thereafter that Mar should, with the consent of parliament, appoint a garrison of a number approved by the estates or their committee, for which he and his son Lord Erskine should be answerable. This garrison was to remain in the castle only until the time of troubles had passed. The force to be employed at Stirling was specified next year as three hundred foot, and a troop of horse; and the castle was one of the places assigned as magazines for victuals, ammunition, and arms. From 1644 until 1647 the garrison was under the charge of Colonel John Cockburn. He had, at least during part of this time, the custody of certain objects of the regalia; and he entertained some prisoners and gentlemen of fortune. In 1649, in spite of his "honest carriage," he had not received the £200 a month due for his expenses and remuneration. It does not appear that he still held office in March of that year, when a mutiny occurred. Major Holburne arrived at Stirling to find that the four companies of the garrison had disarmed their officers, and held the castle. After some parley he obtained admittance, and then distributed a month's pay, and dismissed three companies. He wrote to Argyll to beg that a troop of horse might be sent to his aid, since he could not trust the remnant of the garrison, corrupted by

malignants; and parliament on Argyll's representation appointed Major Strachan's troop to be quartered near the castle.

Charles II. was at Stirling Castle in July 1650. In December of that year, when Edinburgh Castle surrendered to Cromwell, the public records of the kingdom and other national possessions, as well as certain private documents, were in accordance with the articles of surrender transferred to the castle of Stirling.

In March 1651 the officers of the garrison rendered a petition to the committee of military affairs. They had, they stated, during the seven months for which they had been at the castle received only four months' pay. The soldiers had sometimes been obliged to make four days' allowance of food suffice for a week, and were almost destitute of clothing; and, hardily bred though they were, some had been so little defended against the cold that they had died on duty. The petitioners declared themselves sensible of the great straits to which the kingdom was reduced, and its inability to bear a great burden; and asked only for necessaries. In response parliament earnestly recommended the committee to discharge the arrears of pay.

It is not surprising, in view of the miseries of the garrison, that in August 1651 the castle surrendered to Monk. The governor ineffectually attempted to stipulate that the records might be conveyed elsewhere in Scotland: they were sent soon afterwards to the Tower of London. The more private of them were in 1657 returned to Edinburgh Castle, and are now in the General Register House in Edinburgh. The others were shipped back to Scotland after the Restoration, and many of them were lost at sea.

The parliament at Westminster received on the

STIRLING CASTLE.

Photo. by Spooner.

30th of August the news of the taking of this castle, in which were, as well as the records, forty pieces of ordnance, five thousand arms, and provision and ammunition; and they appointed the following Sunday to be a day of thanksgiving. In 1654 the council ordered the delivery, for the use of His Highness the Protector, of the wardrobe goods which had come from Scotland at the capture of Stirling. They were two rich canopies, three chairs of state, a footstool, six high stools, crimson velvet furniture for a bed, and divers silk curtains.

The rights of the Erskines of Mar were overridden by the Protector. In 1652 the park of Stirling, the meadow called the Garden Butts, and Gallowhills, were granted to James Drummond, brother germain to David Drummond of Invermay, and his heirs and assigns. All fees and duties which pertained to the keepership of the castle and park were conferred in January 1653 on James Stevenson, merchant burgess of Stirling; and on James Keir and Andrew Buchanan, merchant burgesses of that place and masters of the Over Hospital in the borough.

The castle in July 1657 had a garrison of two companies. Monk, in his scheme for the defence of Scotland, advanced in October of that year, suggested that thirteen companies of foot and a regiment of horse should be stationed at Stirling.

After the Restoration, in 1661, the governorship and captaincy of the castle were regranted by parliament to John, Earl of Mar, in tail male, together with the forestership of the park. A parliamentary ratification of his hereditary right to the keepership was received by Charles, Earl of Mar, in 1685.

The garrison of the castle continued to be important. There were in 1661 a company of foot in the

town; but in consequence of a "tumult and scuffling" between the townspeople and soldiery their removal to the castle was ordered, and it was decreed that guards should no longer be set in the town. The company had probably been stationed in fear of opposition to the Restoration. In 1664, the captain of the castle was directed to quarter, in accordance with advice of the commissioners of excise in the shire, parties of soldiers on delinquents indicated by the collectors of excise.

No resistance was offered by Stirling Castle to the revolutionaries of 1689. The committee for securing the peace ruled in that year that the condition of the castle should be considered, and recommended to Mar to send for Lieutenant-Colonel Middleton, who should give an account of it. It contained at this date a considerable magazine of arms and ammunition. In March the convention of estates which met in Edinburgh confirmed to Mar, in order to remedy certain encroachments made on his rights by Middleton, the command of all officers and soldiers in the garrison, and the fees, privileges, and emoluments which belonged to his office. Further this assembly ordained, on the advice of General Mackay, that the whole park of Stirling should be enclosed and kept for the use of the forces, and they commanded an estimate to be made of the cost of necessary repairs to the castle. Repairs had been executed before 1695. In June 1689 the convention gave thanks to Mar for his care of the castle.

Robert Sibbald in 1693 described Stirling Castle as one of the chief magazines of the kingdom, and as furnished with cannon and other warlike provisions. In the reign of Anne certain batteries were built in connection with the defence of the outer gate. They have

walls of great thickness, provided on the top with embrasures for guns; and the parapet is of earthwork covered by turf. The guns are worked from broad platforms supported on arches. These works are of an English type, reproduced elsewhere north of the Tweed only at Berwick-on-Tweed. They have the watch-turrets or stone sentry-boxes peculiar to the period, which are also at Edinburgh Castle.

When in 1715 the Earl of Mar was leading the Jacobite insurrection in the Highlands, the Duke of Argyll came to Stirling; and he remained there in command of the Hanoverian army until he marched to Sheriffmuir. The rising was followed by the deprivation of Mar, and since that event there has not been a hereditary keeper of the castle. Lieutenant and deputy governors have been appointed as vacancies have arisen in their offices.

In the 'Forty-five, when the strength of the Highlands was so important a factor in the determination of fortunes, Stirling had much significance in its character of a border fortress.

On the 19th of August 1745 General Cope arrived at Stirling: he assembled his army and marched northwards next day. The castle was strongly garrisoned by the government. The prince crossed the Forth on the 13th of September and encamped at a short distance from the town. On the morrow he marched past the castle whence some guns were fired, which however did not even discompose the Highlanders in the Jacobite army, although to them the booming of cannon was a novel sound.

Early in 1746 the prince undertook the reduction of Stirling Castle. The town was summoned on the 6th of January, and although it made some show of defence it capitulated on the 8th, when a battery of a

few field-pieces had been erected and had opened fire. General Blakeney, who commanded the defence, then retired to the castle. To the summons of the prince he sent answer that his royal highness must think very badly of him did he believe him capable of so cowardly a surrender. Siege operations were therefore begun. The direction of the works was entrusted to a French engineer, Mirabelle de Gordon, who, according to the Chevalier de Johnstone, had a very slight knowledge of his science, and was "totally destitute of judgement, discernment, and common sense." Another writer states that he was always drunk; and a third that he understood his business, but was so volatile that he could not be trusted. His whimsical appearance earned him from the Highlanders the nickname of Mr. Admirable. Grant, the chief of artillery, suggested to the prince to open trenches and set up batteries on the burying ground, which was on that side of the town opposite to the castle gate, where they might be placed almost on the same plane as the guns of the enemy. But to this course the burghers objected because it risked the destruction of their town; and Mirabelle brought forward a more popular plan: he undertook to reduce the castle from the hill on its north side. In this place he therefore began his works, and the enterprise was laborious and protracted, both because the deficiency of the soil had to be artificially supplied, and because the men at work were exposed to the castle's fire. Twenty-five of them were sometimes lost in a day.

While on the 17th of January Charles Edward and his army were absent at Falkirk fight, the Duke of Perth commanded the siege operations. The prince after his victory did not follow up his advan-

tage, but chose rather to continue the siege, which Mirabelle now swore would be ended in four hours' time. Yet the work on the trenches went on until the end of the month. At last, on the 30th, the battery was unmasked. But, as Blakeney must all along have known, it was commanded by the castle; and in less than half-an-hour it had been forcibly abandoned. On the same day news arrived that Cumberland was in Edinburgh: the Jacobite army, demoralised by its long stay in Stirling, was in no state to meet him, and the prince was with difficulty persuaded to avoid a battle, and marched precipitately northwards towards Inverness. Of all attempts to besiege Stirling Castle this of Charles Edward is the most futile.

Cumberland, who had been preceded by the van of his army, reached Stirling on the 2nd of February. He was at Dunblane on the 4th. On the 15th, in order to prevent the Highlanders from slipping past Stirling, he ordered the Hessians to march thither and to Perth, and sent two regiments of cavalry to Bannockburn.

This is the last occasion on which Stirling Castle figured in history. Thenceforth it has been only a barracks and a national memorial.

The palace is built round a quadrangle, and forms one side of an inner courtyard surrounded by buildings. Outside these is another court enclosed by a wall, to the north and south of which are outlying precincts also surrounded by walls.

The most ancient part of the existing building is on the highest point of the site, at the north-west angle of the inner courtyard. It was part of "the old hall and the old chambers on the west side of the old close," which were probably the castle of the fourteenth century. The buildings now in this place

are modern, among them the Douglas room, in which the earl is popularly believed to have been slain by James II. The north-west postern, however, and its steep vaulted passage are of very early date.

The parliament hall, built by James III., occupies the eastern side of the inner court. It measures 125 by 36½ feet, and, like English halls of the period, has at the south or daïs end two oriel windows. These are roofed with groined vaulting still preserved in the west window. The entrance is from the inner court-yard and level with it; but a lower story is on the same plane as the outer court beyond the eastern wall. It is vaulted, and contains a number of rooms once kitchens, guard-rooms, and offices. On the east side a turret stair leads to the hall and beyond it to the roof. On the face of the outer wall the mutilated canopied niches, placed on the windows and robbed of the statues which they once contained, can still be seen. The hall had originally a roof of fine open timber work, but this was removed, probably early in the nineteenth century, and replaced by a modern roof. At the same time floors, partition walls, and staircases were introduced, in order to make of this beautiful structure a modern barracks.

The wall around the outer courtyard is also attributed to James III. Its gateway, the chief entrance to the castle, is popularly assigned to the Norman period: but its style is that of the hall; and the details already given prove that James IV. was the builder of the "fore yett" or "fore entry" with its "great portcullis." The two round towers on either side of the gateway had formerly projecting parapets supported by corbels, and were surmounted by smaller turrets with conical roofs.

The palace erected by James IV. and James V.

forms the southern side of the inner courtyard, and is of the usual type of castles of this period. The quadrangle around which it is built is called "the Lions' den"; evidently because it held the lion-house of James IV. As is usual in houses of this pattern, the principal rooms of the palace are on the first floor. The entrance is at the south-west corner of the inner courtyard of the castle; and a porch gives access to a large reception room and an audience chamber which occupy the north side of the quadrangle. On its east side are private rooms, and on its south side more private reception rooms, perhaps a withdrawingroom and a diningroom. Along the west side of the quadrangle is a corridor which connects the porch with the drawingroom. There was evidently an unfulfilled design to construct along it western rooms. The square tower attached to the south side of the palace is of older date than the rest of the structure, and may once have been the angle tower at the south-west corner of the castle wall.

There are on the ground floor of the palace vaulted rooms, which were kitchens, cellars, and offices. Above the chief rooms is an upper story. This was originally lit by dormer windows behind the parapet; but in several cases disfiguring windows have been cut through the wall.

The interior of the palace was richly decorated, but there remain to give evidence of its ornament only the mutilated fireplaces. Certain carved oak panels, on which were represented the heads of Wallace, Bruce, and other personages, were removed in 1777; but some of them have been preserved in the Smithsonian Institute in Stirling and in the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh.

The exterior decoration of the palace is said to be

the earliest example of Renascence work in Scotland. The designs are rich and fantastic, and betray the hand of the French craftsmen known to have been employed.

The chapel built by James VI. occupies the north side of the inner courtyard, and is an example of the fully completed Renascence work of the period. The comparatively modern buildings on the west side of the courtyard are uninteresting.

Around the castle are various places of which the names recall the ancient use. The Mote Hill to the north was probably once the site of assemblies of state ; in later times it is said that executions were held there. On the Ladies' Rock, according to tradition, the ladies of the court were wont to station themselves, in order to watch the joustings in the flat-bottomed hollow between it and the castle rock. The hollow is now called the Valley, and is partly occupied by the cemetery. In the grassgrown royal gardens, to the south-west of the Ladies' Rock, some traces of a canal and of terraces have been discovered. To the south-west of the gardens is an octagonal earthen mound, with terraces, and a depressed centre, known as the King's Knot. This is identified as the Table Round, where the Scottish kings and their court played the game of Arthur's knights. It is mentioned by Barbour in the fourteenth century. The King's Park is beyond the Knot, and is now used as a drill ground and a public park. Along the north-east side of the castle rock is the deep hollow called Ballingeich ; and beyond it Gowling, or Gowan Hill, where Mirabelle placed his batteries.

From the summit of their solitary rock the ramparts and towers of the castle command a wonderful scene. On one side is a wide fertile plain, which

stretches to the low and distant hills of Fife and the Lothians, and through which the silvery Forth follows a winding course, "a silvery entanglement of loops and links." And on the other side the castle looks out on the Highlands and an undulating country of hills dark with pine trees, backed by a semicircle of mountains which sweeps round from the north to the west. The blue peaks reach up into the clouds, and extend beyond the limits of sight.

Falkland Palace

THE site of Falkland Palace has a history as early, or nearly so, as the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. Yet it differs markedly in position from both those houses. It is in the most inland part of the sea-bound county of Fife, and far from any great river. It stands, not on a high place whence the surrounding country can be commanded, but at the base of hills. The East Lomond rises to some 1500 feet immediately to the south of the palace; the other hills of the Lomond range extend out into the blue distances southwards and westwards, and there are low hills to the north and to the south-east. On the north-east is the valley of the Eden and the fertile Howe of Fife. This situation explains the brevity of Falkland's period of military importance, and it was the nature of the site which made so easy the conversion of the fortress into a palace.

The foundations of the fourteenth-century castle, discovered to the north-east of the palace by the late Lord Bute, probably mark the place of an earlier structure within the precincts, a fortress held between 1107 and 1124, in the reign of Alexander I., by "Macbeath Thaynetus de Falkland," who was a perambulator of the marches between Kyrkness and Lochore. His title makes it clear that Falkland was the central place of his territory; and it follows, at this period, that he had in it a stronghold. Soon

FALKLAND PALACE, FIFESHIRE, IN 1837.

From an old print.

afterwards Falkland became crown property. It was held by Malcolm IV., who reigned from 1153 to 1165. His niece, Ada, married at Edinburgh in 1159–60 Duncan Macduff, Earl of Fife, who had been the king's guardian. For when in 1152 Henry, the only son of David I., "a youth of comely mien," died "before he had completed the years of the first bloom of youth," his father took Malcolm, his son's firstborn, and gave to him as governor Duncan, Earl of Fife, who was directed to take him about the country of Scotland with an army, and proclaim him heir to the throne. Malcolm, as king, gave Falkland as part of his niece's dower to Duncan. Thus the property became an appendage of the earldom of Fife.

Earl Duncan was in 1174 one of the nobles who agreed to the convention made at Falaise with Henry II. He died in 1203, and was succeeded by his son Malcolm, who married Matilda, daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn. In 1228 he died childless, and his estates and dignities were inherited by his nephew Malcolm, the son of his brother Duncan and of Alice, daughter to Walter Corbert of Makerstoun. Malcolm was a guarantor of treaties with England in 1237 and in 1244. In 1255 he was a guardian of the realm; and Andrew of Wyntoun calls him the "gud erl." He married Helen, daughter of Llewellyn, the Prince of Wales, and died in 1266. His successor was his son Colbran or Colban, who had been knighted by Alexander III. in 1264 and who died in 1270. The son Duncan, whom Colban left as heir, was at the time of his father's death only eight years old, and was not admitted to possession of the earldom until 1284. During the interregnum which followed next year on the death of Alexander III., he was elected one of the six guardians of the kingdom. He married an English

wife, Johanna, the daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. His death resulted on a quarrel concerning certain lands of Fife, those of Kilconquhar, which were claimed by members of the family of Abernethy. On the 7th of April 1288 Patrick of Abernethy and Walter Percy, knights, with many men, waylaid Earl Duncan near Petpolloch and slew him. William of Abernethy, also a knight, had lain in ambush on another road by which it was possible that the earl might pass. The murderers were pursued by Andrew of Moray. At Colbanston in Clydesdale Walter and William were caught, and Walter with two esquires was immediately put to death, while William was imprisoned for life in Douglas Castle. Patrick escaped to France where he ended his days. The dispute as to the lands of Kilconquhar was continued by Duncan's brother, and its sequel, an appeal to Edward I., was instrumental in the overthrow of John Balliol.

Another Duncan, son of the last earl, succeeded to the earldom in 1288, when he was only three years old. Yet, according to one chronicler, he fought and was slain ten years later at the battle of Falkirk, and his loss and that of his followers is said to have been very grievous to the king. It is possible that this story is erroneous, and that only one Earl Duncan held from 1288 to 1353. Duncan, Earl of Fife, was in 1320 a signatory of the letter in which the case of the Scots against England was submitted to the pope. In 1332 he was taken prisoner at the battle of Dupplin, and three hundred and sixty men-at-arms who fought under his banner are said to have been slain. Thereafter he submitted to Edward Balliol, and he became warden of Perth in Balliol's interest. With his wife and daughter he was taken prisoner when this place was captured by James and Simon Fraser. His wife was Mary, the daughter of Ralph,

Lord Monthermer, and of Joan Plantagenet, dowager Countess of Gloucester. On the 24th of September 1332, Earl Duncan, the Bishop of Dunkeld, and their abettors crowned Edward Balliol at Scone. Soon afterwards, however, the earl joined the party of David Bruce. His "tower of Falkland" was in the tenure of the English, presumably in consequence of his defection; but in February 1337 he, with Andrew of Moray, the Earl of March, William of Douglas, and many other nobles, "took and demolished" it, and razed it to the ground. Use was made in the siege of a piece of artillery called a "bostour," and fashioned like a tower of wood, which had such powers both of undermining a fortification and of attacking it from above that no building of the day could withstand it. The capturers of Falkland plundered the surrounding country, took the inhabitants prisoners, and placed ransoms on them. They then proceeded to St. Andrews. Duncan, in 1346, was one of the four earls who were taken prisoners with King David at the battle of Durham. He was condemned by the English as a traitor, but subsequently pardoned, and he died in Scotland in 1353.

He left no son, but was succeeded by a daughter, Isabel, who married four short-lived husbands, each of whom was, in her right, called Earl of Fife. They were: William Ramsay of Colluthie, who died soon after 1359; Walter Stewart, second son of King Robert II., who was her husband in 1362; Sir Thomas Byset of Upsetlington, who died before 1365; and John de Dunbar, who was dead in 1371. She had by none of them any children who survived her, and in 1371 she acknowledged as her heir Robert Stewart, Earl of Menteith, the king's son and the brother of her second husband. She granted to him then the keeping of the castle of Falkland and of its forest, and

the right to place in it a constable, as he pleased; but she reserved to herself liberty to stay when she would in the tower, while the earl had lodging and accommodation in it for himself and his horses whenever he came to Falkland.

Thus there was a forest of Falkland, and the castle had been rebuilt after 1337. The reserving clause indicates that it had been a residence of the earls of Fife, and as such it was certainly used by Robert, the new earl, who dated several charters from his "manor" or his "castle" of Falkland. He was a very prominent figure in Scottish history. In 1388, in his father's lifetime, he was made guardian of the realm; and he governed Scotland during the first eight years of the reign of his brother, the feeble Robert III. In 1398 he was created Duke of Albany: the title was new to Scotland, and conferred on him a position of grandeur shared only by his nephew, the heir to the throne, David, now Duke of Rothesay. This dissolute and reckless prince superseded his uncle as guardian of the realm in 1399. The two were rivals, and therefore no absence of motive renders incredible the sinister tales concerning Rothesay's death told by the chroniclers, and, at a later date, by Scott in "The Fair Maid of Perth."

The prince, in 1402, had lost his two chief supporters by the death of Archibald the Grim, third Earl of Douglas, and of Walter Traill, Bishop of St. Andrews. He determined to occupy the castle of St. Andrews, left vacant by Traill's death, and set out to ride thither with a few attendants. When he had reached Strathtyrum, near the town, he was surprised and captured, and taken as a prisoner to the castle of St. Andrews. There is no doubt that Albany, and Archibald, the young Earl of Douglas, were responsible for his seizure; and the chronicler of Pluscarden, who

wrote some sixty years later, relates further that after that event they held a council at Culross, and decided on his death. Subsequently he was conveyed to Albany's castle of Falkland, clad in a grey jerkin, "after the manner of a varlet," and mounted on a small pack-horse, that he might attract no notice by the way. There he was given into the charge of John Wright and John Selkirk, who confined him in a little vault in the tower until he died on the 7th of April. Professedly his death was due to dysentery, but by rumour it was ascribed to starvation. That suspicion rested on Albany and Douglas immediately after the occurrence, is proved by the fact that they were acquitted of any attempt to murder Rothesay, in a parliament held at Holyrood. Only the bare facts of the capture of the prince, his imprisonment, and his death at Falkland are, however, attested. He was buried at the abbey of Lindores. There is no foundation for the tradition which has associated a room in the existing palace with his imprisonment. He was confined not in the palace, which had not yet been built, but in the ancient castle of the earls.

If Albany conspired to kill the prince in order to regain the first place in the kingdom, he achieved his object; for he recovered his supremacy, and after the death of Robert III. in 1406, he was appointed regent. In 1420 he died, and the regency, as well as Falkland Castle, passed to his feeble son, Duke Murdoch. In 1424, James I. returned to Scotland, and entered on his stern policy of repressing the nobles. In pursuance of it, at a parliament held at Perth in the following year, he caused the arrest of Murdoch; and thereafter he "incontinently" sent to seize the castle of Falkland, and gave it into the same keeping as that of St. Andrews.

It thus became a royal possession: the exchequer roll of next year records a payment for two pairs of cart-wheels sent to it for the king's use. Later, however, it was held by Walter Stewart, Earl of Athol. This was a grandson of Robert II. by his second wife, and if, as in the opinion of some, Robert's children by Elizabeth Mure were illegitimate, he was the rightful king of Scotland. James, to conciliate Athol, bestowed on him honours, among others the sheriffdom of Fife, to which Falkland Castle must have been appendant. At the earl's forfeiture for his part in the king's murder, the castle reverted to the crown; it was appropriated to the kings with the earldom of Fife in the parliament of 1455; and their tenure of it has since been affected only by the temporary result of a grant by Cromwell and by a late process of delegation. The keepership of the palace was held for long in conjunction with the stewartry and chamberlainry of Fife, a result of its ancient connection with the earldom.

The palace, as distinct from the tower or castle, is generally said to have been built by James III., James IV., and James V. There is little doubt, however, that the work was begun by James II. He was at Falkland in October 1446; and from 1445 to 1453 much money was there spent on building. Stone, iron, lead, boards, rosewood, wax, and canubium were brought to the king's manor of Falkland; the stables and other buildings in the close were repaired; in 1453 the kitchen was roofed. Payments were made in this reign to the gardener, to the keeper of the park for his maintenance of the palings, to those who mowed and cut the hay.

The king married Mary of Gueldres in 1449; and in 1451 he granted to her in parliament the county of Fife and its tenants, and the manor or

castle of Falkland, with the park and appurtenant lands. The gift was in fulfilment of the marriage-contract, which assigned to the queen for life, property in Scotland to the value of £5000.

In 1452 the king and queen and the court spent the months of February and March at Falkland, Their daughter, the Lady Mary, rested there on the 9th and the 10th of May, as she was on her way from Stirling to St. Andrews. James II. was again at the palace in April 1458; and the chancellor and comptroller stayed in it on several occasions in this reign, often for the purpose of letting the lands of Fife.

Under James II. there is first mention of the practice of keeping horses at Falkland. From September 1450 until the following July, between forty and fifty horses of the king were there, in the charge of ten or twelve men and some boys; and in July six men and four boys kept there certain of the queen's horses. Such references are numerous until the middle of the next century. In 1496 bowmen received wages for guarding the king's horses at Falkland; in 1503 his mares and coursers had been brought thither from Tor Wood; and in 1525 a fee was paid to the keeper of the mares and their followers in the park. Not only were horses thus maintained at grass; but there are also such frequent allusions to building in connection with the stables of the palace, that these were evidently important.

In 1453 wages were paid to the youths of the chapel of Falkland, probably the choristers. This is the only documentary evidence that a chapel existed there in the fifteenth century. It may have occupied the site of that built by James IV.

We hear in the last years of James II. of brewing and the making of malt at Falkland; in 1459 the hall,

the chambers, the kitchen, the brewery, the bakehouse, and the counting-house of the palace had been repaired at a cost of £51, 18s. 7d.

Mary of Gueldres, in the year after her husband's death, undertook considerable improvements in her palace of Falkland. A pleasure garden was made, from which a new door led into her chamber; a brewhouse was built; a new chamber received locks, window-panes, an aumbry, and other additions; the roofs of the tower and of other buildings of the palace, and divers chambers were repaired. In the counting-house, which was on the west side of the palace, a chimney, a door, and partition walls were made; the chimney in the hall was mended; a lock was affixed to the door of the wardrobe; and a door-key procured for the great chamber. A coal-house was built, and, between the palace gates, a new stable. There is mention of the eastern and western gates in 1452. The gate of the hay-yard and its lock were mended; and two new ponds in it were cleansed and dug afresh. There is no reference to furniture; but we hear of the carrying of fuel into the chamber of the queen. It was supplied by a certain Marjorie Baty, who held in connection with the palace an office of miscellaneous character, for which she received payment in money, and an allowance of oats. In 1458 and 1459 she was remunerated for enclosing the ward and the woods of Falkland; and in subsequent years for her charge of the queen's cattle, for keeping the meadows, repairing the ditches, and cleansing the pools of Falkland.

In 1461 six horses of the prince of England were at Falkland for twenty-three days. Margaret, the fugitive queen of Henry VI., and her son Prince Edward, were at the time the guests of the queen-

mother of Scotland; and probably the prince, as well as his horses, was at the palace. The younger children of Queen Mary were there on several occasions: the Earl of Mar and his sister, the Lady Mary, in 1463, from the 25th of July to the 22nd of December; and her eldest daughter Margaret, from the 4th of July to the 11th August. The stay of these persons and their servants involved an expense of about £60. In 1467 £136 were spent during a visit to Falkland of the Duke of Albany, the Earl of Mar, and the Lady Mary.

In 1468 the aqueduct in the meadow of Falkland was repaired at a cost of 10s. This is the first mention of the water-supply of the palace; but in subsequent years a payment of 11s. was made regularly for the maintenance of the aqueduct.

A clearer view of the manner of life here, as in other royal houses of Scotland, is obtained in the reign of James IV. This king often "raide ower the water to Falkland": he journeyed "fra Leith to Inch Keith and syne to Kinghorn," and thence to the palace; or he crossed the Forth at St. Margaret's or the Queen's Ferry. His queen, Margaret Tudor, was frequently with him, or sometimes she stayed at Falkland by herself. Usually the sojourns of the court were brief: they lasted for a week or less; but sometimes they were much longer, as when in 1504 the king arrived on the 5th of October, and did not leave until the 10th of the ensuing May. He was attracted in part by the good sport to be had in the park and the surrounding country. In 1504 a fold was made in the park for the capture of stags; and eight stags were sent to Edinburgh for the festivities in honour of the king's marriage. Compensation was given in the next year for the imparking for deer of land on

which twenty-four head of cattle had previously grazed. The stalker of the Earl of Argyll went to Falkland in 1506; when the king was there in May of that year, he stalked a deer with a culveryn. In January 1504, a present of an English stag was brought to him at the palace by one Powis, who received 14s. as bridle silver. There were other kinds of game in the park: the king went hawking there in December 1490. There is mention of wild boars; and we hear in 1505 of the trapping of foxes by means of "a stalp and an iron graith." Food was provided in 1504 for three swans, but these probably had an ornamental purpose. Perhaps they swam on the pond which James made at Falkland; and which, in October of this year, he stocked with three dozen of pike.

He was wont in the evenings to amuse himself with cards, and play was sometimes high. On a Sunday night in June 1490, he spent the large amount of forty unicorns, or £36, in playing with the Earls of Bothwell and Angus, the chamberlain, and George of Parkle. In January 1504, the sums of 28s., 56s., £4, 10s., £3, 16s., and again 56s. were delivered to him "to play at the tables" or "the cartis," and on the 7th of May 1507, he received 35s. "to play at the cartis in Falkland that nicht." This happened at a time when £7 a year was a sufficient income for a chantry priest. The distractions of music alternated with those of gambling. A luter and a fiddler were at the palace in September 1502; in January 1504 two luters, by the king's command; in 1505 a luter; and in May 1507 some harpers, four other minstrels, Sir Alexander Jardine's fiddler, and an individual called "Whisselgibboun." A mysterious entry records provision, by royal precept, for a "wild lady" who came from Perth to present herself at Falkland to the king

in 1513, and for the pasturage of her horse during her stay.

A feature of life in this palace, at some distance from the centre of government, was a frequent coming and going of messengers. Thus in the winter of 1504 Master Levisay, an Englishman, earned ten French crowns, or £7, by bringing writings to Falkland from the king to the queen; and in August 1501 James, from the palace, sent a man to Edinburgh to bring tidings of the ships that had come into port.

The royal household must have been provisioned chiefly by the produce of the lands of Fife, but some additional delicacies were procured for the king's table. A small barrel of apples and oranges was sent to him at Falkland in 1497, and in 1505 some Rhenish wine. Moreover care was taken to render the garden productive. It was stipulated in 1484 that the gardener should receive no fee unless he had worked well and brought out fruits for the king's use. There is mention of an orchard in 1487; and in the winter of 1506 the gardener supplied the king with pears.

In this reign two persons conspicuous in history were at Falkland Palace. In 1489 a knight of Fife, Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, was, with his two ships, the *Flower* and the *Yellow Carvel*, twice victor over English vessels; and on the 10th of July in that year he met the king on his coming to Falkland, and gave him ten unicorns, or £9. The Exchequer Roll of 1497 records the expenses in connection with the stay at Falkland for one hundred days of five men in the train of the "Duke of York," and of his horses. The "duke" is Perkin Warbeck, who was presumably in the company of his men and horses on this occasion. A visitor of less note was Mountjoy, king-at-arms of the French king, who was at the palace in 1507. In

1513, when James had stormed the castles of Norham and Chillingham, he imprisoned their captains, John Horsley and Edward Gray, at Falkland.

The life of the court at the pleasant hunting palace has left its trace on literature. Blind Harry probably recited there his verses; Dunbar refers to Falkland in his poems; Falkland Green, a scene of rustic sports, gave its name to a lost ballad, "Falkland on the Green." The palace was apostrophised by David Lindsay:—

> "Fareweill Falkland, the fortalice of Fife—
> Thy polite park under the Lomond low—
> Sum tyme in the I led ane lusty life,
> Thy fallow deer to see them rake in row."

The works undertaken by James IV. were such that by one chronicler he is called the builder of the palace. Money was spent on the fabric from 1501 until 1513; in the former year the large sum of £832. In 1504 the land and house called "Masonluge" next to the palace were bought. Use was made of great quantities of timber; and in 1505 and 1506 of 340 feet of glass. In 1511 £20 were paid for the "cupilling and gesting" of the great chamber of the palace; in 1513 timber was procured for the roof of the great hall; and a wall was raised between the chapel and the new work as a protection against wind. A new garden, which had two iron gates, was made.

Regular allowances of corn and barley were received in 1501 and throughout the next hundred years by the priest of the chapel of the palace, which contained an altar of St. Thomas and was dedicated to that saint. This chapel, which was evidently built by James IV., must have superseded the older foundation. In 1511 the payment of £200 for its fabric and for that of the vestry was completed; and in the same year the sum

of £35, 6s. was spent on certain "cuppills, syntreis and angulars" in the chapel.

James IV. spared the trees of Falkland when he wasted all other woods of Fife to build a ship greater than any that ever had sailed in French or English waters.

In one year of the minority of James V., 1519, a great company was entertained at Falkland Palace. Two hundred persons stayed there for three weeks with the chancellor, James Bethune or Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow. They may have included the governor Albany, who was there during the greater part of the year. At some date in it Bisset, pursuivant, rode post out of Edinburgh with letters from the governor to M. La Fayette, presumably a French agent, then at Falkland.

Pitscottie relates with much picturesque detail the history of an escape from the Douglases effected by James V. at Falkland in 1528. Modern research has proved, however, that this flight of the king took place at Edinburgh. Yet Pitscottie's story has value because it gives a picture, that dates within the century, of manners in the palace. He tells that the king called on the chamberlain of Fife and forester of Falkland, and desired him to summon all those royal tenants and gentlemen of the neighbourhood who had the swiftest dogs, to meet at seven o'clock next morning "to slay ane fat buck or twa." Then he directed the cooks and stewards to have his supper ready by four, in order that he might go to bed early; and he went to his chamber soon after he had eaten. When he was in bed he caused his collation to be brought to him; and he drank to James Douglas of Parkhead, and commanded him also to retire sooner than usual, "that he might wait on him timeous." The

chronicler then describes how, after the watch was set and all was quiet, James contrived his escape clad in the "hose, coat, cloak, and bonnet" of a yeoman of the stables; and how George Douglas, when he returned to the palace at midnight, heard from the porters that the king was asleep.

Sober history relates that James was at Falkland in 1528, from the 22nd to the 25th of August and on the 23rd of September. He often rode to Stirling and then eastwards to Falkland, and thence back to Edinburgh; or he crossed the water to Fife, and rode first to Falkland and afterwards to Stirling. Thus, on the 10th of July 1529, he rode "from Stirling towards Falkland for supper"; on the 16th he returned to Stirling; on the 19th he was in Edinburgh; on the 7th of August he was again in Stirling, and, after breakfast, rode to Falkland for supper; on the 15th he was in St. Andrews; on the 16th again at Falkland; on the 18th once more at Stirling, and ten days later in Edinburgh. On these frequent journeys the court was accompanied by quantities of baggage; the king's bed appears always to have been conveyed in his train. In June 1534, hangings were taken to Falkland for the chamber of the queen-mother; and tapestry, cabinets, and coffers were carried in four carts from St. Andrews to Falkland in July. In the same year bedding, coffers containing linen, the "claithes coffer" of the queen-mother's master stabler, and her coffer and board were conveyed from St. Andrews to Cupar, thence to Falkland, and thence to Ravynnesheucht and Dunfermline. After the king's marriage to Mary of Guise royal progresses became yet more elaborate. Nine horses in October 1538, the year of the wedding, bore nine coffers of the queen from Stirling to Falkland, seven carried her ladies' beds and other gear, one the bedding,

and six the king's tapestry, which was duly nailed up at the palace. The queen had in her train eight ladies, a midwife, a woman of the chamber, another woman servant, and a fool. While she was at Falkland on this occasion ten ells of green "birge" satin were sent thither to make a gown for Senat, her fool. On the 16th of December, six carts conveyed the coffers in which were her wardrobe and that of her gentlewomen from Falkland to Kirkcaldy, and thence they were borne to Kinghorn, where they were shipped across the Forth. Provision was made also for the carriage, by way of Dunfermline, of the bedding, the tapestry, and the king's coffers. We hear of the purchase of five ells of "great canvas" in which to wrap the gear of the queen's ladies. Next year Mary went to Falkland from Lindores: there is record of the carriage of the baggage and bedding of herself and her ladies, and of the boxes of the pages and lackeys; and on the 17th of October George Steill delivered to her grace at the palace twelve double hanks of small sewing gold, six of great sewing gold, and twelve of sewing silver, all of which had cost the treasury the sum of £31, 4s. It is probable that in this remote palace the gentlewomen had much leisure for needlework, for which the French queen appears to have had great taste.

In 1541 twin sons were born to the queen at Falkland; James, who died on the day of his birth, and Robert, called Duke of Albany, who lived only for two days. Soon afterwards the king and queen went on a northern progress; and they returned from Aberdeen to Edinburgh "sidelings by Dundee and Falkland."

In 1542 James V. died at Falkland Palace. After the disaster of Solway Moss he was for a short time

at Holyrood, whence he made his way into Fife. He went first to Hallyards, where he was courteously received by William Kirkcaldy and the lady of Grange, to whom he is said to have prophesied his death: "My portion of this world is short, for I will not be with you fifteen days." And when his servants asked him where he would have provision made for Christmas, he replied, "I cannot tell; choose you the place. But this I can tell you; before Christmas day ye will be masterless, and the realm without a king." None dared contradict, "albeit there appeared in him no signs of death." From Hallyards he went to the castle of Cairnie, probably Lordscairnie Castle near Cupar, a possession of the Earl of Crawford, where he visited his mistress, the earl's daughter. Thence he rode to Falkland, and there he took to his bed. The news came from Linlithgow that on the 8th of December a daughter had been born to the queen. She was to be the famed Mary Stewart. Her father, when he heard of her birth, is said to have murmured, "Adieu, fare weel; it came with ane lass, it will pass with ane lass;" and then to have turned his face to the wall, and commended himself to God's mercy. He spoke little more that could be understood; but it is told that he "harped still on the old sore," and on the disgrace of his favourite, Oliver Sinclair. "Fie! Fled Oliver? Is Oliver taken? All is lost." Pitscottie and Calderwood relate that Cardinal Beaton obtained a grant of the regency by obliging the king, with his last breath, to sign a document: "As many affirm, a dead man's hand was made to subscribe a blank." But of this there is no valid evidence. James died on the 14th of December, in the presence of the cardinal, the Earls of Argyll and Rothes, the Lords Erskine and Lindsay, Master Michael Dury, Sir David Lindsay of

the Mount, the laird of Grange, Andrew Wood of Largo, and Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes.

On the 22nd of December the Earl of Arran was declared by proclamation to occupy Falkland Palace as regent; and on the 5th of January he had been appointed to go thither with divers lords in order to convey the late king's body to Holyrood for burial.

In the reign of James V. much was done to the fabric of the palace. In 1516 extensive repairs were executed, which included work on the steps of the new work; and gates were made to the park. A cow-house and a wall in front of the tower gate were made in 1522; and the dovecote was mended. In 1528 a stable was constructed, the felons' prison was repaired, and a "vast carriage" of necessaries was brought from Leven. Sums were spent on repairs in this and later years. Nicholas Roy, a French master mason, was remunerated for his work at Falkland from the 20th of April 1539 until the 31st of August 1540, at the rate of £3, 6s. 8d. a month. It is in this period that there is a reference to "ane palice maist magnificent, whais name is Falkland."

There are contemporaneously frequent records of sums paid, especially to the tenants of Cash, in compensation for damage wrought by the king's deer of Falkland. It is stated in 1533 that three marks and two chalders of oats were allowed yearly to a man who must so maintain the dikes and pales of the park that the deer could work no harm. After 1539, the lands of Darno were described as a waste for the pasture of the king's fallow deer.

In 1536, oats were delivered at Falkland to feed a fox of the king, apparently a pet. The wife of Thomas Melville received in 1539, for her labour in keeping and nursing certain of the royal pets, seven

ells of "fine French black to be to her a gown and a kirtle," and six yards and a quarter of black velvet to "walt" and "begary," otherwise to bind and adorn, the garment. The gift cost the treasury £15, 16s.

There is again mention of wild boars in the park. Certain of these beasts were imported from France in 1541; and in the same year the laird of Fernie made a paling of timber to confine them. He was paid in 1542 for his keepership of the new park, which must refer to one of the recent enclosures.

Grazing rights held by private individuals in the lands of the palace are hardly ever mentioned; but in 1541 and in 1542 the comptroller made payment for having pastured three swine in the park.

At a critical moment during the regency of Mary of Guise, Falkland figures in history. Mary in 1559 was at open war with the lords of the congregation; at Perth her measures had stirred to action John Knox and the iconoclasts; in June she passed thence by way of Stirling to Falkland, with a force led by d'Oysel.

Argyll and Lord James Stewart summoned the Protestant gentlemen of Angus and Mearns to meet them at St. Andrews on the 3rd of June; Knox preached in Anstruther and Crail, and there followed the usual scenes of destruction; finally he went to St. Andrews, and thereafter the rich monuments of the many ecclesiastical associations of this city were destroyed. The Archbishop of St. Andrews escaped narrowly with his life; and he came to Falkland and told the regent what had passed.

She had been joined also by Châtelhérault; and it was decided that her army of Scots and French under Châtelhérault and d'Oysel should march on St. Andrews by way of Cupar. But Cupar was held already by the opposing party, whose forces, some

3000 strong, were drawn up on Cupar muir. The regent's army found themselves outnumbered; they halted near Tarvet and sent back to Falkland for instructions. Mary thereupon despatched the Earl Marshal, Lord Lindsay, and the laird of Waughton to treat; and eventually it was agreed that there should be a truce of eight days, and that the regent's forces should be removed from Fife. They retired to Falkland, and crossed the Forth on the following day.

In March 1562, the first spring after her return to Scotland, Queen Mary crossed into Fife; and on the 21st she was at Falkland Palace. On Maundy Thursday the service of washing the feet was often performed by the sovereign in person; and there is evidence that Mary this year did the office to certain maidens, for the treasurer's accounts record the purchase in March of 34 ells of Holland cloth, 24 of white "causey," 30 of linen, and 2½ of "canviage," "for service to be done on Skyris thurisday in Falkland to 19 virginis." Another entry concerns the oats provided for the horses of the "lords ambassadors" who were with the queen.

The palace was disturbed on the 25th of March by the arrival of the Earl of Arran, son to Châtelhérault, who was accompanied by Kirkcaldy of Grange. He brought news of a plot; his father, his brother Gavin Hamilton, and the Earl of Bothwell had, he declared, conspired to "cut off" James Stewart, now Earl of Mar, and thus to gain possession of the queen's person. His knowledge of their plans had caused his imprisonment in his father's house of Kineil, whence he had escaped by night from a high window, and had made his way to Grange. In a subsequent examination he acquitted his father but maintained his charge against Bothwell. It became clear soon afterwards that Arran

was mad, and he was committed to ward; yet Bothwell and Gavin Hamilton, who came to Falkland in ignorance of his accusations, were imprisoned on suspicion, the earl at Edinburgh Castle and Gavin at Stirling.

From Falkland Mary paid visits to St. Andrews and Cupar. In May she returned to Edinburgh by way of Lochleven. She was at Falkland again in March and in April 1564, and in January 1565.

The references to the deer and the boars of Falkland Park in the regency of Mary of Guise and the reign of her daughter are like those of the previous reign. £4 were paid to a poor man who herded the boars in 1543. It was enacted in 1555 that, since the sheriff of Fife and his deputies had reported Falkland wood to be for the most part old and decayed, it should be cut down, newly imparked, and hainit (enclosed) for the raising of young trees. In 1561, and afterwards until 1595, a tiler received a yearly fee of £10 for maintaining the palace in tiles. This office was analogous to the existing one of the glazier.

The palace was much associated with the plots and the counterplots and the religious crises of the reign of James VI., for that king was accused of preferring hunting to preaching and he was often at Falkland. In 1580 it was stated that the reconciliation effected between Morton and Lennox and Argyll had "stayed matters of violence that were intended at Falkland." Lennox died in May 1583; and Walsingham in a letter refers to another plot which would, had the duke lived, have taken place at the palace. Its end, which was doubtless to free the king from the power of the Ruthven raiders, was there attained in the month of June. James appointed at St. Andrews a meeting of certain lords who favoured him, Huntly, Montrose, Argyll, Crawford, Rothes, March, and Gowrie who is

alleged to have joined his party. On the 27th of the month he rode out of Falkland with Colonel Stewart; at Dairsie he met March and other gentlemen; and thence he passed to St. Andrews, where he lodged first at the Novum Hospitium and then at the castle. In July he was again at Falkland as a free king.

On the 18th, Masters Robert Pont, David Lindsay, and John Davidson were sent thither by the Presbytery of Edinburgh to admonish the king. They were received by James in his cabinet; and he denied their accusation of having introduced innovations, and affirmed his right to choose his own council. They told him that "there was never one yet in this realm, in chief authority, that ever prospered after the ministers began to threaten him"; and in answer he smiled. He was to prove an exception to this rule. In conclusion the ministers exhorted Colonel Stewart to have a care as to what counsel he gave to his master. Before they left, James laid his hands on each emissary.

Soon afterwards the king went to Perth, but on the 3rd of August he returned to Falkland. On the 5th the Earl of Arran crossed the Forth at Queensferry with forty or fifty horse; and had no sooner arrived at Falkland than he was received into high favour and began "to look braid." The time of his ascendancy had begun. From this palace James issued a proclamation which condemned the Ruthven Raid. In September he went to Perth, but he returned to Falkland on the 13th of the month and remained until October.

He was there again in the following summer. In May a parliament at Edinburgh had established episcopacy; and ministers had been compelled to subscribe a submission to their ordinary. On the 3rd and 11th

of June, and on the 15th of July, the borough of Edinburgh sent as commissioners, to accompany their neighbours who were charged to appear before the king at Falkland, the provost, a bailie, and four other men. Their neighbours were eleven deacons and elders who had received and read a letter of the ministers to the town council and session, before the king and his council had seen it, and were therefore accused of treason.

There is an account of the trial before the council at Falkland, on the 28th of June, of John Blakburne, a minister. He declared openly to his judges that he had not subscribed the letter of submission because it was contrary to God's word and to conscience; and that he approved of the reasons for which certain ministers had rather left the country. As he finished speaking, Arran exclaimed that order must be taken with him and "the sinews of his craig yuiked," for such a proud knave had never before come into the presence of the king and council. Then James rose from his seat and went quickly to the foot of the table; and took the pen, inkhorn, and paper from the clerk, gave it to Blakburne, and placed him at a side table that he might write his answer to the charges made against him. The council thereupon adjourned to dine; and the minister asked that he might write in some quiet place. The king summoned Arran and Colonel Stewart; and after they had conferred the order was given to place Blakburne in irons. Then he appears to have been carried into the guard-house; and there he craved, and obtained, a respite from his irons, because they rendered it impossible for him to stand, and he must write at a high window. He made out three petitions: to clear himself of the charge of treason, to plead the poverty of his estate,

which did not suffice for the daily payment of two marks obligatory during his imprisonment, and to answer the king's arguments. For six days he was in irons except when he was relieved by the sergeant. James Chisholm, one of the masters of the household, was sent to urge him to subscribe the submission, but had no success. At last, when almost all the lords were absent, he was, through the mediation of George Young, removed to Dunfermline.

In August or September a Border ruffian, Jock Graham of Peartree, was, according to his own deposition, brought by James to Falkland and bribed to shoot the Earl of Angus. Besides himself there is no witness to the tale.

The king in July 1585 held councils at Falkland. In August the exchequer was appointed to meet there from the 1st to the 21st, but the order was changed on account of an outbreak of the plague. In a proclamation made this year at the market cross of Falkland, all persons were commanded to leave the town within six hours, unless their occupation or special leave entitled them to remain, or unless they were properly dependent on some particular person whose attendance the king required. The chief occasion of the visitation of the plague was declared to be the confluence of "rascall people and utheris wicked personis lacking whome upon properly to depend," who were very many in Falkland.

The ensuing autumn witnessed the fall of Arran and the formation of a government in which no single person was dominant. The Earls of Bothwell and Mar belonged to the party thereafter ascendant; and when, on the 23rd of April 1586, they heard that the king intended to set out from Edinburgh on a journey without their knowledge, they went

to him and offered their attendance. He refused, and told them sharply that he would not be directed by them, and would have them know he would be no slave. On the same day, with only two servants, "he rode his way over the water to Falkland." Until October of this year he spent much time at the palace.

He was there in May 1587, and frequently in the following summer. He wrote thence as to ecclesiastical matters, and as to the despatch of ambassadors to Denmark. In July the town council of Edinburgh determined that, if the sanction of the convention of boroughs were obtained, William Fairlie should pass to the king at Falkland and obtain from him authority for the convention to proceed against an English pirate vessel which was in the mouth of the Firth of Forth, and had pillaged ships.

In 1589 a confirmation was made by the king and council of an exemption from liability to taxation enjoyed by the tenants of Auchtermuchty, Newton of Falkland, Freuchy, Easter Cash, Kettle, Kingsbarns, and other lands in the lordship and stewartry of Fife, in virtue of their attendance on the king and queen, and their service to them, whenever they made residence at Falkland Palace.

The marriage contract of James and the Princess Anne of Denmark conferred on her the property once enjoyed by Mary of Gueldres, the tenure for life of the county of Fife, the castle and palace of Falkland, and all appurtenant rights. James in 1589 issued instructions to such effect to those who negotiated the marriage; in May 1590 the settlement was formally made; and on the 12th Callipeir, admiral of the Danes, crossed the Forth to Falkland to take possession in the queen's name. In June the

king and queen went to Dunfermline and to Falkland. The king after a short stay made thence a western progress, but Queen Anne remained at the palace until his return, and eventually went back with him to Edinburgh. From the 10th of August until the 8th of September nine feather-beds were provided in Falkland Palace for her company at a cost of 2s. a night for each; and the Danish strangers were accommodated in the town in eight chambers, each furnished with two feather-beds, coal, and a candle, and hired at the rate of 6s. 8d. a night.

Falkland Palace was in 1592 the scene of one of the reckless exploits of Francis, Earl of Bothwell. Since his attempt at Holyrood in the previous December he had been forfeited by the parliament which held its session in the spring. On the 28th of June both the king and the queen were at Falkland, and Maitland was absent from them at Lethington. The wild earl rode up to the palace between one and two o'clock in the morning at the head of a troop of more than a hundred Borderers, Scots of Annandale and Liddesdale, and some Englishmen of Eskdale. He had been joined, moreover, by Patrick, Master of Gray, and the laird of Balwerie who brought a company of unarmed horsemen. But Bothwell's project of surprising the court was foiled by the alertness of the watch. The king retired to the tower and directed its artillery against the attackers, who ranged round the palace until about seven o'clock, when the countryside had been roused, and they fled. Pursuit was at first impossible because they had taken with them all the horses in the royal stables, and many more from the town. They left dead behind them the Lord of Spott. As the news of their attempt spread, the gentlemen and the people of Fife, and the burghers

of Perth, Dundee, Cupar, and other places, came fast to Falkland, until by six o'clock in the evening a great crowd had gathered around the palace. A proclamation for the capture of the assailants, who were said to have returned to the west march, was issued on the morrow, and on that day the king set out for Burntisland on his way to Holyrood. He was at Falkland again in July; and on the 24th Robert Bowes wrote to Walsingham that Bothwell was on the road thither with two hundred horse, probably in execution of another design against the king, and that preparations for defence had been made at the palace. This alarm was groundless.

Sir James Scott of Balwerie and his brother were pardoned in November, and Patrick, Master of Gray, with his uncle and brothers, in August of next year, for their part in Bothwell's enterprise. The latter act of grace had place in the time of the ascendancy of Bothwell's faction. While subject to that party, James was at Falkland in August 1593.

In March of next year the privy council issued a declaration that at the suit of the Danish ambassadors they had promised to deliver the queen's possession of Falkland into her personal tenure; and that she now required a fulfilment of this undertaking. They had therefore ordered James Bethune of Creich, keeper of the castle and palace, to produce his titles, which had been found insufficient. He and all other keepers were directed, in consequence, to remove themselves, their servants, and cattle from the palace and its lands; and David Murray was instructed to take out of the park and wood all horses and cattle that belonged to himself or any other except the king.

This David, the king's familiar servant, had in the previous December received a grant, in fee, of the

office of master of the royal stable, and of a certain empty house. He became comptroller of the household in 1599. The house was given to him again in 1600, when he is called David Murray of Gospetrie, knight; and it is described as the foundation of the castle known as the "Castelsted" of Falkland, the ruinous houses on its southern side, and the adjacent groves and waste places. On the south side it was separated by some six ells of land from the palace; and on the north it was bounded by the royal stables and a building occupied by Patrick Seton; on the east by the king's hedges of Falkland; and on the west by the water of the Mospie. The property is the site and the remains of the ancient tower of the Earls of Fife.

The history of the captaincy and keepership of Falkland is obscure. John de Balfour is variously called captain, keeper, and constable, in the years between 1453 and 1464. In 1471, and afterwards until 1487, the keepership was held by Thomas de Simson. He was superseded in 1488 in his custody of the palace, park, wood and meadows, and attendant fees, and his tenure of the chamberlainry and stewartry of Fife, by Nicholas Ramsay. In 1489 and 1496, Patrick Hepburn of Beynstoun was keeper and chamberlain; and those offices were held by William Scott of Balwery, knight, from 1497 to 1499, and by John Lundie of that ilk from 1501 to 1503. The earliest mention in connection with them of the Bethune family occurs in 1504, when they were held by David Bethune. From 1506 to 1513 they were in the tenure of James Bethune, at first Abbot of Dunfermline, and afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow. In 1525 James Bethune of Creich, as keeper of the palace, complained that its thaik (roof) was broken, and was commanded to repair it at the king's expense.

Thereafter for some years no claim of the Bethunes appears to have been respected. In 1526 a grant was made to Archibald, Earl of Angus, for seven years, of the custody of the tower and palace, the easter and wester woods, and the parks, deer, meadows, and orchards; together with the chamberlainry and stewardship of Fife. Angus probably resigned the offices, which were given, in tail male, in 1527, to William, son and heir of Thomas Barclay of Rynde, and were still held by him in 1536.

The Bethunes held again in 1561. Robert Bethune of Creich was captain or keeper of the palace then and in 1569. In 1580 and in 1588 James Bethune of Creich was steward of Fife and captain of Falkland. He and his heirs male were constituted in 1592 hereditary stewards of Fife and captains and keepers of the palace and its orchards and gardens, which offices were declared to have been held by him and his ancestors from time immemorial. The grant specifically conveys a meadow to the east of the King's Meadow which was called the "Capetanemedow." The claim of the family to hereditary tenure was not defeated by the act of 1594, but ended only with a composition made in 1602. James Bethune was then declared to have been the lawful possessor of the hereditary stewartry of Fife and captaincy and keepership of Falkland Palace; and an hereditary and kindly tenant to the king in the lands of Darnoch within the stewartry. At the king's command he had, however, resigned to the crown these offices and lands; and the king, in return, undertook to enfeoff him, his son and heir David, and their heirs and assigns with the lands of Nether Byres and Urquharts within the stewartry, and with the rights of pasturage in the Lomonds of Falkland, which the

Bethunes had held anciently. If ever they were troubled by the king or queen in their possession of this property their resignation would be annulled; and if ever the king wished to demise the lands of Darnoch, he would make the first offer of them to James Bethune or his heirs. The promised enfeoffment was made in 1603.

It seems certain that, even if the Bethunes had throughout the sixteenth century a hereditary right, sometimes overridden, to the keepership and stewartry, their real claim was not one of older standing.

The office of forester of Falkland was held hereditarily, and distinctly from that of keeper. It was confirmed by the king in 1528 to Andrew Fernie of that ilk; and in 1540 to Andrew Fernie of that ilk and Barbara Logan his wife. The latter Andrew, in 1552, settled on his son and heir William the forestership of the grove and wood of Falkland, the "crop and bark" of the forest, pasture for twenty-four cows, the range of the Lomonds of Falkland, the meadow called the "Forestermede" to the north of Falkland and the constabulary of Cupar. A "reasonable third" was reserved to Barbara Logan, in case she survived her husband. In 1590 the king confirmed a conveyance by the late William Fernie, mentioned in the foregoing deed, to William Fernie of Foxtoun, of the forestership and the range. The attendant profits were specified as the branches and bark of every tree cut down, together with three feet of its length measured from the lower end; all branches blown down by the wind, and all dead timber; the shoulders and skin of all fallow deer slain in the wood; and rights of pasturage for twenty-four cows, a bull, and calves. Conveyance was made at the same time of the duty of maintaining the walls of the grove and meadow of

Falkland Wood, to which rights of pasturage were attached; and of that of "searching" the range of the Lomonds of Falkland. On the latter certain profits depended which accrued, as spade silver, for turf and divots that were carried away, as well as certain duties of punishment in case of animals which pastured wrongfully on the hills.

The Lomonds of Falkland, with the appurtenant coal-heuchs and offices, were declared by act of parliament in 1594 to be inseparably annexed to the crown; but this did not affect the hereditary forestership.

In the spring and summer of 1595 the king was as usual at the palace. Colville wrote to Cecil of a plan to capture him "when he hunts his bucks in Falkland." "The captain of that house has promised us, any morning we please, to draw him out with the huntsmen only to any part of the wood we please to hide ourselves into." This complaisant officer may have been James Bethune, thus able to keep his place after 1594. His services were not required for such a seizure of the king as he suggested. On the 12th of August the convention of estates met at the palace.

Another session of parliament was held there in September 1596. In the same month the commissioners of the general assembly and "divers other good brethren," who had met at Cupar, were so perturbed by the return from exile of Huntly and the Catholic lords, that they sent certain of their number to remonstrate with the king, then "very quiet" at Falkland. The emissaries deputed James Melville to be their spokesman, because he could state their case "substantiously," and yet in such a "mild and smooth manner" as pleased the king They were received by James alone in his cabinet; and he opened the conference by finding

fault with their meeting, in such wise that their plan of procedure was upset. For, as James Melville began a "mild and smooth" answer, Andrew Melville lost all patience, and interrupted with a force, which the king, for all he strove, with "crabbed and choleric" speech, to use his authority, could not resist. The torrent of Andrew's eloquence was not to be stemmed: he claimed to hold a commission from the mighty God; and he called the king "God's silly vassal," and took hold of him by the sleeve; and then, "through much hot reasoning and many interruptions," he stated the position of his party. "Sir, as divers times before, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is Christ Jesus and His kingdom the kirk, whose subject King James the Sixt is, and of whose kingdom not a king nor a head nor a lord but a member; and they whom Christ has called, and commanded to watch over His kirk, and govern His spiritual kingdom, have sufficient power of Him and authority so to do, both together and severally; the which no Christian king nor power should control and discharge, but fortify and assist, otherwise not faithful subjects nor members of Christ. And, Sir, when ye were in your swedling-clouts Christ Jesus reigned freely in this land in spite of all His enemies, and His officers and ministers convened and assembled for the ruling and weal of His kirk." Thus "with great liberty and vehemence" the brethren declared themselves, until James adopted the part of discretion. He made many assertions that he had not known of the coming of the Popish lords until after their arrival in the country; and dismissed his visitors "pleasantly."

The kirk, nevertheless, was soon to fall from its high place. In the course of next year James brought

it into subjection; in July 1597 the Catholic earls of Huntly and Errol were reconciled to it, and in August Errol was at Falkland Palace "in great bravery."

There was little to distinguish the residence of the court at the palace in the summers of 1598 and 1599. In 1600, however, it was the scene of a last attempt to gain ascendancy in the kingdom by the old Scottish device, a capture of the king's person.

James in August of that year was at Falkland, and, as was his use in this season, he daily hunted his bucks. Between six and seven o'clock on the morning of the 5th, in wonderfully seasonable and pleasant weather, he came to the green where his horse was in readiness, and where all the huntsmen and hounds awaited him. He and his suite were clad in green; he carried no sword, but only a hunting-horn. As he was about to mount Alexander Ruthven, brother of the Earl of Gowrie, whose presence here was unexpected, came up to him, made a very low bow, and drew him apart. Then, with a dejected countenance and lowered eyes, he began a strange tale. He had, he said, met in Perth a man who carried a pot of gold, apparently foreign money; and he had bound and confined him, and wished the king to ride now to Perth, in order to annex the treasure. James was much surprised, both by the extraordinary story and by the manner of its teller; but he was more than anything else eager for his sport: the morning was fair; the game had been found; and the huntsmen were awaiting him in the fields. He broke in upon the speaker with the remark that he could now stay no longer, but that he would consider the matter, and would answer as to what course he would take when the chase was over. Then he hurriedly mounted and joined the hunt.

The Master of Ruthven was left protesting; but presently sent a man to Perth to tell his brother to prepare dinner for the king.

James rode up a little hill above a wood which the dogs were drawing; but in spite of the pleasant beginning of the hunting his thoughts recurred to the tale he had heard. He turned therefore to John Nasmyth, a surgeon, who happened to be riding beside him, and sent him to bring up Alexander Ruthven. Then he waited; and when the Master had arrived told him that he had been so impressed by the earnestness of his words that whenever the sport was over he would ride in person to fetch the gold. During this delay the king was left behind by all the hunt except John Hamilton of Grange, one of his master stablers, and he now rode forward with him and with Ruthven.

They hunted until eleven o'clock or later, and all the time Ruthven was at the king's back, and a pause never occurred but that he turned upon the king and urged him to end the sport. When they had killed James did not stay, as was his wont, until the deer had been divided, but alighted and sent to the stables, whence they were now distant by the length of some two shots, for a fresh horse. Ruthven, however, would not even suffer him to wait till his mount was brought. He was so importunate that the king got once more on to his tired hunter and rode off, leaving orders that a fresh horse should be made to gallop after him. He would not even stay until his sword was fetched, or until Lennox, Mar, and some other gentlemen had time to change their mounts in order to accompany him. He said that he must go to Perth to speak to the Earl of Gowrie, and would be back before evening. Some of his gentlemen rode after him at once on

their wearied horses, and others hurried to the stables and afterwards followed the king. Ruthven would have gone without an escort.

This version of the beginning of the incident called the "Gowrie Plot" is that given by Calderwood, and accords with the official account published at the time. There is no question as to external events; but as to the matter of conference between Ruthven and James there is doubt, and it has been held that the king had summoned the Master to Falkland, and rode to Perth of his own free will. The whole subject is treated by Mr. Andrew Lang in the second volume of his "History of Scotland."

The official version relates that in his house at Perth Gowrie, with his brother, entrapped and attempted to murder James. The report that the king had narrowly escaped a treacherous death spread rapidly through the country. It was nearly eight o'clock when he left Perth, and the night was dark and rainy, yet the whole road to Falkland Palace was "clad" with people of all sorts and conditions, on foot and on horseback, who greeted him with glad acclamations. During the ensuing week a great concourse of persons of every degree came to the palace to offer congratulations and protest their loyalty.

In the palace certain men suspected of knowledge of the plot, Cranstoun, Gowrie's equerry, and Craigingalt, his under-steward, were examined. Before the end of the week the king left for Edinburgh.

Until James went to England nothing more of interest happened at Falkland Palace. In 1605 William Brown, treasurer clerk, was instructed to go thither to collect all the king's tapestry and movables, and to make an inventory of them, preparatory

to their being placed in the single wardrobe, which was for the future to contain such goods.

James VI. does not seem to have undertaken, before his accession to the English throne, any building works of importance at Falkland. In 1584 slates, lime, sand, and timber were needed to repair the palace roof. The steward and chamberlain of Fife were therefore instructed to require the tenants and feuars of the king within the earldom, in such places as they should judge best, to carry these commodities from the coast and its neighbourhood to the palace, not as a service exacted by the terms of enfeoffments, but as an act of goodwill and benevolence. The names of any who disobeyed were to be reported to the king and council. This measure was not to prejudice the future tenure of those affected by it.

There is again mention in this period of payments to the tenants of Cash for grain destroyed by the deer of the park. In 1597 all dispositions of the palace, and of the coal, park, and Lomonds which pertained to it, were annulled. In 1606 however an act of parliament enabled the alienation from the crown, in favour of the highest bidder, of the hills of the Lomonds and the muirs of Falkland. Details exist as to proceedings against poachers. Richard and John Scott were in 1598 denounced as rebels because they bore pistolets and troubled the keepers of the park. In 1605 Alexander Morieson and William Haig, servants to Master John Clepen of Ballintaggart, had, in spite of divers acts and proclamations, hunted and slain one of the king's deer in Falkland Park, and had been imprisoned in Edinburgh. The lords of the privy council wished to make an example of them, and therefore ordered the bailies of Edinburgh to instruct their lokman to take

the offenders to the market cross, to set on the forehead of each a piece of clean paper on which was written in great letters, "For Slaying of the Kinges Deir," and to leave them bound to the cross for two or three hours. Then they must be led to the Nether Bow, and there the fact of their perpetual banishment from the shire of Fife, on pain of death, must be proclaimed. In 1611 a petition was tendered against a certain Abercromby, who had with hagbuts and pistolets "made great spoil and destruction" among the king's geese in Falkland Park.

The privy council in 1600 published a prohibition. It was stated that for some years herons had been so frequently slaughtered in the Carse of Gowrie, Fife, Strathearn, and the surrounding district that they had almost been exterminated. A few had now, however, begun to build in the park of Falkland; and, since the king was desirous for their increase, it was ordered that a proclamation should forbid herons to be shot, otherwise killed, or taken, during the next three years, in Fife, Kinross, and the Carse of Gowrie, and in Strathearn eastwards of Comrie and of the Stopis of Kilbuk, on pain of imprisonment for a year and a day for the first offence, and of banishment from the country for the second.

The bounds of the park were enlarged in 1606 by the inclusion in it of half the lands of the feuars of Cash, who, to compensate them for their dispropriation, were exempted from all feu-farms and other duties which they had hitherto rendered for their remnant of property. A grant of the lands of Wester Cash made in March to Andrew Bickertoun conveyed also the right of pasturing animals through the common wood of the forest of Falkland to the Lomonds.

In 1608 occurred the disgrace of James Elphinstone, first Lord Balmerino. He held the post of secretary after 1598, and as such he wrote a letter to Clement VIII., which was signed by the king and had part in procuring a cardinal's hat for a Scottish subject. It became expedient for James to disavow all trafficking with Rome, and Balmerino was accused of high treason and warded at Falkland. In 1609 his health had suffered from close confinement in the foir (fore) tower of the palace; and his prison was extended to include all the palace and the country within a mile of it, on condition that he found sufficient landed gentlemen to stand sureties for him in £40,000. This sum was paid by Alexander, Lord Elphinstone, Alexander, Master of Elphinstone, and Sir George Elphinstone of Blythwood. Balmerino was removed in 1610 to the house from which he took his title, and was granted liberty within twenty miles of it. He died in 1612.

Prohibitions as to hunting in the vicinity of Falkland, on account of an approaching visit of the king, were published, as in the case of Holyrood, in 1607 and 1610, and were repeated in 1616. A two-storied house opposite the palace still bears the inscription, "King's Falconer's House. All praise to God, and thanks to the most excellent monarch of Great Britain, of whose princelie liberality this is my portion. Deo laus esto fedus adest merci. Nicol Moncrief, 1610."

In 1616 it was ordered that all the tiling of the galleries of the king and queen in the palace should be removed, their stonework supplemented, and a "barteseene" roofed with lead built about them. The tiling of all the palace was to be renewed where necessary, and the faults of the roof repaired. In March 1617 the privy council charged George, Marquess of

Huntly, according to his promise to dismiss from his works at Strathbogie, John Anderson, painter, and suffer him to present himself with his work-looms at Falkland. He must be there within six days on pain of rebellion.

Another preparation for the king's visit consisted in a direction that the paling and dike of the park should in places be broken down, so as to allow the "bucks and beasts" to "raik forth" out of it. They would thus gain acquaintance with the locality of gaps, and would furnish the king at his coming with the better sport. For slaying a "beast or buck thus straigling and raiking through the country," the penalty was for an earl 500 marks, for a lord 400 marks, for a baron 300 marks, for a landed gentleman 100 marks, and for a commoner £40.

On the 11th of May 1617 the king arrived. On the 15th, eighty carts were ordered to be at Kirkcaldy for the conveyance of his wardrobe to the palace; the parishioners of various places in Fife were directed to carry his baggage from Burntisland, Kinghorn, or Kirkcaldy, at whichever of them it was landed after crossing the Forth, to Falkland on the 19th, thence on the 21st to the place of the ferry over the Tay to Dundee, from that ferry on the 2nd of June back to the palace, and from Falkland to Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn, or Burntisland on the 3rd. In these journeys James was attended by a "great number of noblemen and other persons of rank and quality," and a multitude of carriages. When it was necessary that all should be transported across the Tay, an order was issued to the "owners, skippers, mariners, and boatmen" of all boats at the south and north ferries to attend for the purpose. A Latin poem was presented to the king on his arrival at Falkland, in the name of the town of

Aberdeen. It had been composed, at the request of the corporation, by David Wedderburn, rector of the grammar school of Aberdeen, to whom fifty marks were paid by the treasurer. The king visited the palace again and for the last time on the 3rd of July, when he remained for about a fortnight. He probably devoted most of his stay to his favourite pastime of hunting. Three years later, when he wished to honour an English servant, Sir Henry Carey, he bestowed on him the title of Viscount of Falkland in Fife; and the Falkland Islands, which have brought the associations of the Scottish palace to the region of Cape Horn, were named after the peerage.

In 1619, 1620, June and November 1621, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, and 1633 the proclamations issued in the case of Holyrood to preserve game in the neighbourhood of the palace, on account of an expected visit of the king, were published also at Falkland. In 1625 certain parts of the palace were said to be very ruinous and far decayed, neither water-tight nor wind-tight, and in danger of perishing. James Murray, master of the king's works, was therefore ordered to note all need of repair, and to provide, in accordance with directions from the treasurer and his deputy, for the "roofing, sarking, and theaking" of the chapel, with all possible care for the preservation of its "sylring." The chapel appears at this date to have been entirely redecorated.

The master of the works was also directed to cause the garden dikes, which had fallen down, to be built up with stone and lime, and to repair, roof, and slate the ruinous stables. A commission to view the palace, and report within eight days on its condition, was appointed by the privy council in 1629. Charles I., when in 1628 he announced an intended visit to Scot-

land, stated that, in spite of the necessary briefness of his stay, he had resolved to see his house of Falkland; and in the following year the privy council informed Lord Stormont that "the place of Falkland" was one of the especial houses, in which, next to Holyrood House, the king would have his residence. Hence, as the king was expected, Stormont must see that it was abandoned by all its present inhabitants, its furniture and other contents left in correspondence with the inventory, and the keys delivered to the master of the works.

Again early in 1633 it was announced that the king, when he came in the spring to Scotland, would visit Falkland Palace. On the 2nd of January the order was issued that, to give him the better sport, the park of Falkland should, of all others, be kept and enclosed (hayned) with especial care; and that none should hunt or slay deer within it. A fortnight later the lords of council ordered a proclamation at the market cross of the town, and during Sunday morning sermon or prayers at the parish church nearest the park. This stated that divers persons who dwelt near the palace, daily had resort to its grounds and wandered, hunted, and hawked in them, broke down the palings and walls, and pastured their animals in such numbers that the king's deer were weakened and almost starved. Such of the deer as left the park were hunted and slain by the country people. All this was "in high and proud contempt" of the king, and tended to spoil his game, and therefore was forbidden: license to pasture beasts must be obtained from Lord Annandale, the forester; and the slaying of deer outside the park was made punishable by imprisonment in Falkland Palace, and liability to fines imposed by the council.

On the last day of January all dwellers in Falkland Palace were ordered to remove themselves and their belongings. In February the necessity had become evident of providing for the horses of the king and his train. Officers of arms were therefore instructed to "pass, fence, and arrest" all straw and hay in the parts of Fife around the palace. They were to meet within the borough of Falkland James Kinninmont, chamberlain of Fife, and David Balfour of Balloch, with whom they should agree as to the price to be paid for the provision. Lodgings and stables for the royal company were reserved in Falkland by the same measures as in the Canongate. In April complaint was made of certain persons who, by building stables on the walls of the gardens and orchards of the palace, had in a disgraceful manner impeded the passage to it, and obscured the view of its entry and gate. This action was condemned as very presumptuous; the offenders were summoned to appear before the privy council, and the demolition of their stables was ordered, unless they could show reason to the contrary.

On the 5th of July Charles I. arrived at Falkland. The duty of conveying his baggage thither from Dunfermline had been assigned to various parishes in Fife. The Earl of Dunfermline, as bailiff of the regality, had been ordered to warn in good time the noblemen, barons, vassals, and feuars of his jurisdiction, that with him, all well horsed and equipped, they must form an escort. He must have especial care that no rascals or commoners should be in his company; but the people might stand by the wayside to get a sight of the king. The sergeant of the king's pastry and his cook were given power here as in Edinburgh to impress assistants.

Such were the preparations for the short stay which King Charles made at Falkland Palace, and which he occupied with sport and recreation. There is no evidence that he repeated his visit when he was again in Scotland in 1641.

On one other occasion Falkland was a hunting place of kings. When in 1650 the Scots had agreed to receive Charles II., the parliament appointed the deputy treasurer to go to Falkland to see to the provision of the king's house. On the 6th of July, on his way southwards from the mouth of the Spey where he had landed, Charles reached the palace. He was received by the news of the confirmation of the treaty of Heligoland by the Scottish estates, and of their vote that all but nine of his followers must leave the country. We are told that he occupied himself with "his huntis and pastymes"; but according to the *Mercurius Politicus* he had another less congenial employment. That paper stated on the 22nd of July that "the Thing called his Majesty" was "lodged in one of the old Palaces, of as royall a structure as an English Alehouse, where great care is taken to make him learn the Kirk's lesson without a book." He passed to Perth on the 27th. In August he "went over the water to Dunfermline and Falkland for his recreation"; and he was at Falkland again in the subsequent January. In December 1650, when a certain agreement had been made between the true royalists and the covenanters, on the ground of their common support of the king, the Earl of Lothian met Lord Crawford and others at Falkland "for a composition of business."

Cromwell's army overran Fife in the summer of 1651, and probably then occupied the palace. Next year the woods of Falkland were cut down by his

soldiers. The trees were for the most part oaks, and according to one tradition they were used to build the citadel and barracks at Perth. Such is the statement made more than sixty years afterwards by Defoe, who adds that the Protector converted the park into ploughland. The palace had been garrisoned in 1653, the year of the royalist Highland rising. After the Earl of Glencairn had been proclaimed governor at a meeting of Highland leaders in July, he swooped down upon Falkland, and carried off thence an officer and four or five soldiers, who recovered their liberty only after payment of a ransom of £80.

The palace and park were granted by the Protector to Colonel Lockhart of Lee, but reverted to the crown at the Restoration. The demolition of two sides of the quadrangle of Falkland Palace is ascribed to a fire which occurred under Charles II. Nevertheless, in 1693, Robert Sibbald in the *Theatrum Scotiæ* describes not only "a pretty little town," but also "a stately palace" "at the foot of Lomon hill." "The king's park and a wood are adjacent to it, into which, as also into the plain towards the east, it hath a most pleasant prospect."

In 1715, after the battle of Sheriffmuir, the royalist Macgregors under Rob Roy retired upon Falkland, took possession of the palace, and plundered the surrounding country.

Defoe's visit occurred some ten years later in the course of his tour through Great Britain. The palace aroused his admiration, and his description is an exact account of its condition. "The two sides that still stand in the inner square show a beautiful piece of architecture. It consists of two stories with rows of marble pillars of the Corinthian order, set in sockets of stone between every window; on each

side of the window a bust in *basso relievo* of the emperors and empresses, and at the top of each pillar a statue as big as the life. There are twenty-two busts and twelve pillars still remaining. . . . You enter this palace by two stately towers, and on the right is a chapel, still well preserved, with statues as big as the life in the niches on the outside. Here were spacious gardens, with a park well planted with oak and well stocked with deer, paled round for eight miles." Of the town of Falkland, Defoe says that it was "clean, not unlike Woodstock"; and of the hill behind it that it was "covered with the finest pasturage for sheep."

The further history of the palace is found in that of the offices of keeper and forester.

The keepership, after its hereditary tenure by the Bethunes had been abolished, was given to George, Earl of Dunbar, and in 1611, after his death, to Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline.

The hereditary forestership was conveyed by William Fernie of that ilk and William his son to David Murray of Gospetrie, the holder of Castelsteid; who was created Lord Scone in 1605 as a reward for his service to the king in connection with the Gowrie Conspiracy. In 1606 and 1612 the forestership and its rights and duties were granted to him in tail male by the king. At the same time he received the site of the house of Patrick Seton, which had stood at the right-hand corner of the king's stables. All his property in Falkland followed until 1658 the descent of the viscountcy of Stormont, which accrued to him in 1621 as a consequence of the influence he exerted for the passing of the Articles of Perth. A settlement of 1614 mentions in connection with the Castelsteid certain newly constructed gardens and adjacent

"greens, wastes, and shaws," and the garden made on the site of Seton's house and surrounded by walls; and enumerates among the duties of the forester that of sustaining the walls, banks, and paling of the woodland and woods of Falkland. Another settlement of 1625 stipulates that the forester sustain at his own cost keepers of the woods and park, the king's deer, and the walls and ponds; and that he collect the hay of the broad woodland called the "Kingis Medow," place it in the king's hayhouse, and administer it for the nourishment of the deer in winter and in time of storm. He is suffered to pasture in the whole wood six mares and their foals, and other animals, according to custom, in the eastern wood; to receive all fallen timber, bark, and from cut trees the length of the shaft of a wood-axe, as well as an annual fee of a chalder of oats and two chalders of barley. He is said at this date to be constable of Falkland, perhaps in right of his tenure of Castelsteid. Yet another settlement made in 1630 assigned to the heirs of David, Viscount of Stormont, the lands of Ballinblae and their loaning and sward in Falkland, the parts of the Lomonds called the Blackhills and the Muirs of Falkland, great and small coals in those muirs and the Lomonds, and other royal lands, the tithes of the rectory of Kilgour or Falkland, the Newlands on either side of the water of Mospie, Croftangrie or Chrystiescroft, and the office of scrutinising the moors of Falkland with the attendant spade silver and rights of punishment. The holder must, unless the coals which thus belonged to him failed, carry of them every tenth load to the palace, if the king were there resident, and, if he were absent, must either give such to the crown, or pay for each load 40d., and 13s. 4d. annually in fee farm.

The first Viscount Stormont, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of David Bethune of Creich, died childless in 1631. His niece Anne, daughter of Andrew Murray of Balvaird, had married his distant cousin and successor, Mungo, younger son of the Earl of Tullibardine. She died in 1631, and her husband, after a second marriage, in 1642; both without issue. In virtue of a settlement, ratified by the king in 1630, the forestership descended to James Murray, second Earl of Annandale and third Viscount Stormont, who died without issue in 1658. After the Restoration, in 1662, the king confirmed the office of forester to John Murray, Earl of Athol and of Tullibardine. He received, to hold to him, his heirs male and assigns, the ruinous castle called Castelsteid, with the buildings and yards erected on it by David, Viscount Stormont, the adjacent green wastes and woods, the ground compassed by walls once occupied by Seton, and the office of constable of Falkland. The forestership was granted to him with the dues anciently appurtenant to it. Moreover, additional offices, those once held separately by the keepers, were bestowed on him also: the captaincy and keepership of the palace and of its buildings, orchards, and greens, the fee of five chalders of beer and five of oats from the farms of Newton Falkland and Freuchie, which pertained to the offices of constable and captain, and to the obligation of maintaining the palace wind-tight and water-tight in slates, glass, locks and keys; and the stewartry of Fife with its appurtenant rights and dues.

It is thus that Falkland Palace came to be held of the king by John, Earl of Athol, who became Marquess of Athol in 1676, and died in 1703. Sibbald speaks of the considerable rents which he received as

FALKLAND PALACE, FIFESHIRE.

Photo. by Spooner.

hereditary keeper and steward. He was succeeded by his son John, who, in May 1703, was created Duke of Athol. The duke sold his right in Falkland, in 1787, to General Philip Skene of Hallyards, who died next year, and left as heir a nephew, David. At the death of the latter in 1808, the keepership was inherited by his aunt, Helen Skene, the wife of Major-General Moncrieff of Myres. She disposed of it to her second son, George, who sold it to Mr. John Bruce. By his descendant it was sold to the late Lord Bute, from whom it passed to his son, Lord Ninian Crichton-Stuart, the present hereditary keeper.

The history of the palace is reflected in some proverbs still current in Fife. Freuchie is a village at a short distance from Falkland, and "To go to Freuchie" signified to be banished from court. It has acquired the meaning of the English "To go to Coventry." The occasional version of "To go to Freuchie and fry frogs" probably originated in the disgrace of a French favourite. "To be Falkland bred" is to have courtly manners; and "You're queer folk no to be Falkland folk" is a retaliation to the ostentatious. "You'll no cut the woods o' Falkland wi' a penknife" must date from the days of Cromwell at latest. "The king may come by the Cadger's Gait" is an inverse expression of the sentiment in the English, "The cat may look at the king." It alludes to the footpath still called the Cadger's Gait or Path, which leads across country from Falkland to the sea-shore at Earlsferry, and by which tradition still tells that fish once were carried to Falkland Palace. The right of way over this path was upheld by a decision in the law courts in 1908.

There is no evidence as to the structure of the castle of Falkland which was demolished in 1337.

That tower of the earls which was built before 1371 is known, however, to have been a keep of the type usual in the fourteenth century, and to have had an importance proportionate to the high place held by the lords of Fife. "In excavating in the garden to the north of the palace," wrote Lord Bute, "we found the remains of the original enclosing wall, and in the north-east angle a part of a round tower retaining a small portion of the ornamental string-course. . . . This great tower, with its high pointed roof, must have been the main feature of the early group of buildings, and a prominent feature in the landscape for many miles round. Its great size implies truly noble rooms." Lord Bute believed that the castle had comprised "a hall, chapel, and number of rooms, gallery, kitchen, stores, offices, stables and the like." He considered that the remains which he found date from "about the thirteenth century"; but apart from the fact of the demolition in 1337, the plan of the castle seems to belong to a later period. Some grassy ruins near the angle of the palace walls still mark the place of the stronghold of the earls.

The palace of Falkland which was built in the fifteenth century was discovered by the research of Lord Bute once to have surrounded three sides of a quadrangle; the west side was enclosed by a wall. The south side is still in good preservation; that on the east is a roofless ruin; and from the north side all buildings have gone.

James IV. was evidently the chief builder of the south front, and he probably brought into order with his own plan the work of his predecessors. The entrance to the courtyard of the palace is through an archway at the west end of this front, and is between two round and lofty towers with conical roofs, very

like the south-west tower which the same king made at Holyrood. No portcullis guarded the entrance of this house, which of all their palaces was that whither the kings came to pursue pleasure rather than business. On the front to the east of the gateway buttresses are interposed between the windows. Their length is broken by canopied niches in which statues once have stood, and they culminate in pinnacles above the level of the roof. They support, at the point of their junction with the pinnacles, a cornice which is continued above the gateway. The effect has very much grace. There is every evidence that the work was native, although the introduction of buttresses is unusual in Scotland.

The large room on the first floor to the east of the gateway was believed by Messrs. MacGibbon and Ross to have been the hall of the palace; but Lord Bute identified it as the chapel, and as such restored it. There is indeed evidence that it was redecorated in 1633, a date at which the chapel is known to have been repaired; and it is a semblance of its condition in that year which Lord Bute endeavoured to reproduce. At all events the room dates from the reign of James IV. It is lighted from the south by mullioned windows, and has a beautiful timber roof decorated with wooden ribs and mouldings, geometrically disposed. Beneath it, on the ground floor, are the usual vaulted rooms which served as kitchens and offices.

That façade of the south side of the palace which looks to the courtyard was added by James V. It fronts the corridor which he made on the north side of the hall or chapel. In design it is an example of pure and very early Renascence work: classical columns and pilasters occur at intervals; between them are the windows of the ground floor and the first floor;

and on either side of those of the upper story are medallions on which are carved heads. On the plinth beneath each column are the inscriptions "I. R. 5. D. G." and "MRIA. D. G." ("Jacobus Rex V. Dei Gratia" and "Maria Dei Gratia"). Thus the evidence of the records that the work was done between 1539 and 1542, the dates of the marriage and death of James V., is confirmed.

The design as a whole and the details of its ornament, the carving on the medallions and on the caps and bases of the columns, show largely the influence of the French workmen whom James V. employed.

At the south-east corner of the quadrangle is a plain round tower with a conical roof. Of the east side of the palace which adjoins it only the inner wall remains, and this is similar in design to the corresponding front of the south side; but it betrays workmanship so much more careless and less spontaneous that it is evidently an imitation. It probably represents the work done in 1616 in preparation for the visit of James VI.

The foundations of the north side of the palace can still be traced. Beneath them, to the north, is a gay coloured garden; and beyond this there is a building which once was a stable.

Falkland Palace, for all its ruins, gives an impression more luxurious, less austere, than any other royal house in Scotland. It is not only that it lacks the grim features which recall, in most palaces, the warlike and dangerous lives of the kings who dwelt in them. Beyond this it has a richness and a fancifulness which preserve to it, even in its decay, memories of courtly pastimes and splendour.

Linlithgow Palace

THERE is no evidence that the site of Linlithgow Palace was ever held by any but the kings of Scotland. The chief importance of the house has been derived from the fact that it stands midway between Stirling and Edinburgh, within a day's ride of either. As a place of strength it guarded the road between the two chief fortresses of the kingdom, or it prevented their connection. It served as a half-way house those who journeyed from Holyrood to the palace of Stirling. Moreover, Linlithgow is situated in a rich lowland country which agriculturally was even more fertile before its mineral wealth had been discovered. The palace had importance as the central place of one of the most profitable lordships held by the crown.

David I., who reigned from 1124 to 1153, conceded to the monks of Holyrood all the skins of those rams, sheep, and lambs of the castle of "Linlitcu" which died. This is the earliest evidence of a building on the site; and it is the sum of its history until a century later. Then the house of Linlithgow is found to have been put to a use afterwards frequent to it, to be a dower-house. Margaret the daughter of Guy, Count of Flanders, and of Isabella his wife, was on her marriage with Alexander, the son of Alexander III. and the heir to the Scottish crown, endowed with the house of "Linlithcu" and its appurtenant rents, valued at 200 marks. The property constituted part

of the dowry which in 1286 she brought to her second husband, Reginald (Reynaldus), Count of Gueldres.

Such tenure appears to have implied only the payment to Margaret of the rents which belonged to the castle. The castle itself seems still to have been held by the heads of the government of Scotland. Thus in 1289 the guardians of the realm dated a writ from Linlithgow, and in 1291 the keepers of the castles of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigton there received their wages from the chamberlain.

In 1293 the attorneys of the Count of Flanders petitioned John Balliol for the rents of the manor of Linlithgow. These had been assigned by the Count of Gueldres and Margaret to her father, and were in arrears. The attorneys refused to plead as to their right according to the law of the land; the king postponed his decision until after his return from his approaching journey to England, that he might have time to seek the counsel of his friends and familiars, and his advisers in England and other kingdoms. Eventually, both in this year and in the next, orders were made for due payment to Margaret of Gueldres of her dower. The property naturally reverted to the Scottish crown on her death.

In the summer of 1296 occurred the triumphal march of Edward I. through Scotland. After he had occupied Edinburgh Castle he moved westwards on the 13th of June, and slept that night at Linlithgow Castle. Next day he continued his way to Stirling; but at Linlithgow he left before the castle certain "engines" well guarded. On the 16th of August, when he was returning to Edinburgh, he again passed a night in Linlithgow.

It was probably in this year that Edward received a petition from the knights of St. John at Torphichen

PALACE OF LINLITHGOW IN 1782.

From a drawing by T. Hearne. Engraved by W. Byrne and T. Medland.

on behalf of all their English brethren in Scotland. They stated that it was a great security to English residents in Scotland to have access to a fortress and castle in their neighbourhood, in case of the many accidents which might still arise although the country was settled. Edward's castle of Linlithgow was only two leagues distant from Torphichen, and therefore the knights prayed that he would suffer them to have the right of entry to it with their goods in times of their need. He granted their request on condition that their conduct was favourable to the safety of the castle, and that its constable had no responsibility for them.

This is proof of a custom of which other evidence occurs in the history of Edinburgh and Elgin castles, the use made of mediæval fortresses by inhabitants of the surrounding country as places of refuge in times of danger.

It may be concluded that Linlithgow was temporarily recovered by the Scots after the battle of Stirling Bridge. In 1300 it was again held by the English, and the military importance of the place had been realised by Edward I. He came to Linlithgow in October; on the 13th, St. Edward's day, he offered in the church £20, 16s. 8d. A week later the barons of the English exchequer were informed that he wished to strengthen with all despatch the tower of Linlithgow. They were directed to lay especially to heart the business of sending thither from London, if necessary from the Tower, and from York, certain cartloads of crossbows, quarrels, and belts, and a "tour," presumably a piece of artillery. Meanwhile wages were paid to labourers at work on the fortifications; ditchers, carpenters, smiths, masons, and an engineer. Both smiths and carpenters were sent from Northumberland. In the following year the work-

men employed included also masons and quarriers, as well as woodcutters and carters of timber.

The contention, therefore, of Mr. Ferguson, advanced in his *Ecclesia Antiqua*, that Edward's fort was a mere wooden palisade and earthwork must be abandoned. There is no reason to distrust Barbour's description of the peel "mekill and stark." Mr. Ferguson's other surmise, that there was a stockade and earthwork which connected the east and west ends of the church with the loch, has however much probability, for it is certain that the church was included in the fortifications. In 1305 the prior and canons of St. Andrews prayed Edward to give them a new church of Linlithgow, since he had made of the old one "a camp and fortalice."

The whole winter of 1300–1 was spent by the English king at Linlithgow. Payments were made to men at work on his chamber, and to those who cut grass for it, presumably for bedding.

In 1302 Sir John de Kingston and Sir Archibald de Livingstone were appointed surveyors and ordainers of the works on the fortress. Each of them employed a clerk; and there were also the masters of the works. In September the castle was largely provisioned with wheat, wine, malt, beans, oats, salt, and sea coal, all conveyed by water as far as Blackness. The food was stowed in the church. The sheriff of Lincoln was in 1312 ordered to send wheat, malt, beans, and peas to Linlithgow Peel. In 1312 the garrison consisted of the constable, Peter de Libaud, who was also sheriff of the county, Archibald de Livingstone and his three shield-bearers, a servant at arms of the king, sixty-eight shield-bearers at arms, an engineer, a maker of artillery, a mason, a smith, a chaplain, a watchman, forty-five crossbowmen, and eighteen persons of unspecified

functions. Such was the peel "stuffit weill vith Ynglis men," which harried all who

> "Fra Edinburgh vald to Strevilling ga,
> And fra Strevilling again alsua,
> And till the cuntre did great ill."

Edward II. was in it during his invasion of 1310.

The capture of Linlithgow was accomplished by a ruse. Mr. Andrew Lang places it in Lent 1314, but Barbour, who related the tale in the latter part of the century, assigns it to the previous autumn. He describes the fields "fair and vyde" around the castle, "chargit with corne" which waxed ripe for "mannys fude," and the trees laden with sundry fruits. A certain William Bunnok, who was known to the garrison, concealed beneath a load of hay which he was to take into the fort, eight armed men, while a party of Scottish soldiers were stationed in ambush near the gate. Bunnok's wain was drawn by oxen driven by a servant; he himself walked by its side. The portcullis was raised to admit the hay; the cart was stopped when it was full in the gateway, so that the gate could not again be lowered; and then the driver cut the ropes which harnessed the oxen, at which signal the men beneath the hay discovered themselves, and those who had been in ambush appeared behind them. The surprise was completely successful; the garrison offered hardly any resistance, and were put to the sword.

Bruce subsequently demolished the fort. He rewarded Bunnok with a grant of lands; and ever afterwards the family of Bunnok or Binny bore a hay wain in their coat of arms.

The constabulary of "Lynliscou" was among the possessions granted by Edward Balliol to Edward III.

in June 1334. The town was in the path of the devastating armies of the war of independence. In September 1337 it had been totally laid waste and was uninhabited. The date at which the fort was rebuilt after its destruction by Robert the Bruce and that at which Linlithgow was recovered after Balliol's grant are alike unknown. Perhaps throughout this period the tower was not restored to a condition of strength. In the latter and more peaceful part of his reign David II. leased the park of Linlithgow to John Cairns, on condition he kept the castle in repair.

In 1370, after David II. had died without issue, the three estates of Scotland were convened at Linlithgow to choose a king. It is likely that they met in the castle. A parliament of 1318 had settled the succession on the descendants of Marjorie, daughter of Robert Bruce, who married the Steward of Scotland. Now an opposing claim was put forward by Earl William of Douglas, but he could not defeat a candidate supported by Dunbar, March, Moray, and Erskine, who held among them the Maidens' Castle, Stirling, and Dumbarton, the three chief strongholds of the kingdom. Thus the first Stewart king, Robert II., ascended the throne. Both he and his eldest son, the Earl of Carrick, were on several occasions at Linlithgow Castle, as was Carrick after he had succeeded to the kingdom as Robert III. This king spent some money on the fabric.

During the regency which occurred while James I. was a captive in England ten marks annually were paid to Angus de Camera for his custody of the castle. In 1424, the year in which James returned to his country, the palace as well as the nave of the church and the town were burnt by night. The king undertook the rebuilding, and a beginning was made of a

house destined to be rather a residence of the court than a stronghold.

Heavy expenses were thus incurred between 1425 and 1434. There were one or perhaps two masters of the works, and the buildings were frequently visited by James and his consort. The palace must have been habitable in January 1429, when the king and queen stayed in it for twelve days. In 1433–34 the sum of £37, 16s. was spent on "diverse materials of colours" delivered according to the account of Matthew, the king's painter, at Linlithgow; and payment was made for the tapestry of the palace. It is to be concluded that the interior decoration was in progress. Of the existing building the oldest part, the south-west corner of the quadrangle, is attributed to James I. The stable of the palace is mentioned in this period.

In 1408 Albany as regent endowed with an annual rent of ten marks a priest who should for ever celebrate in Linlithgow Castle for the souls of the kings of Scotland. There is however no evidence of the existence of a chapel, until in 1412 the payment of £22, 3s. 8d. for the construction of the chapel of the castle is recorded. Subsequently yearly sums were expended on bread, wine, soap, and wax for the chapel, and the stipend of its priest was increased by one mark.

James I., alone of Scottish kings, established a mint at Linlithgow.

There is record of the expenditure in 1447–48 of £3, 10s. on wine and collations for James II. when he rested at Linlithgow on the road from Edinburgh to Stirling. An old association of the palace was revived, when in 1449 it formed part of the dower of Mary of Gueldres on her marriage to the king.

The building works continued. Large sums were spent on the fabric by James II. from the beginning of his reign until 1451. In 1457–58 there is reference to a master of artillery and a Teutonic gunner named Dedrik in the palace, and repairs were executed on a "great bombard" and other instruments. The ditches around the palace had been enclosed and mended in 1458. In this reign eels, pike, and perch were supplied from Linlithgow Loch to the king's household in Edinburgh and Stirling; a new boat, nets, and ropes were provided by government for the fishermen, and there was an eel arch at the exit of the loch.

Soon after her husband's death Queen Mary issued an order that Linlithgow Palace, her dower-house, should be prepared for the reception of the fugitive king of England; and Henry VI. and Queen Margaret made some stay there in 1461. On the marriage of James III. to Margaret of Denmark in 1469 the palace was granted to her for life, and thus again became a dower-house.

This king was also a builder of the palace. It is said that his architect was his favourite Cochrane, who "at his beginning was bot ane printis to ane maisonne, and withtin few years became werie ingenious to that craft and bigit mony stain house witht his hand in the realm of Scotland: and because he was conning in that craft nocht efterlang they made him maister maisone, and ever efter this Cochrane clam higher and higher." He was slaughtered with other royal favourites at Lauder bridge in 1481.

In this reign a coracle made of skins was used on the loch. The lands of Lochside had been included in the park in 1481.

In 1488, when Angus and his supporters had abducted from Stirling Castle the prince who became

James IV., they took him with them to Linlithgow. Thither they summoned their friends, rebels to the king, and thence they marched to Sauchie Burn. After the battle they returned to Linlithgow with the prince, who did not yet know whether he was king, and waited for news of the king against whom they had fought. Messengers brought tidings that the two ships of Sir Andrew Wood were sailing up and down the Forth, and had sent flat boats to the land, into which many wounded men had been received. The prince and the lords feared that James III. might thus have reached safety, and they set out for Leith, there to discover the fact of his death.

Under the following August the payment is recorded of £5 to Patrick Johnson and the players of Linlithgow who had performed before the king. The entry is typical. The most cultured and the gayest of Scottish kings brought here as to his other palaces a train of artists and of merrymakers; and here, as at Falkland, he often played cards "at even." He kept at Linlithgow the Yuletide of 1490, and among unknown names of those who received alms at the festival occurs that of Blind Harry. The great minstrel was again at the palace at Easter 1491, when his dole was eighteen shillings. He must have pleased less than another of his calling, Wat the Songster, who received twenty-eight shillings at Linlithgow in December 1503. On this and other occasions St. Nicholas, bishop, was at the palace; four years later he was attended there by his "roughies." His brother of midsummer, the Abbot of Unreason, danced to the king at the palace in June 1501. In July 1505 some Italian minstrels came from Edinburgh to Linlithgow; next year the court fool there received a new coat. Among the royal

servants at the palace were the porters, the ushers of the hall door, James Lame of the king's pantry, the master cook and the court cook, the heralds, and the trumpets. That the king here followed his taste for chemistry is probably shown in an entry as to the expenses of a French leech at Linlithgow. There is less evidence of his outdoor amusements, but there are some references to his games of bowls, to his shooting matches at the butts, and to hawking expeditions. His dogs were brought to the palace, and on one occasion he received there a present of two wolves. His piety appears in many records as to his offerings in the chapel and his alms to the poor.

His foreign relations are reflected in the history of the place. Here in 1489 he received certain Danish visitors; and in the same year, to prepare for the coming of Spanish ambassadors, he renovated his wardrobe. Satin cramoisie, blue satin, black satin, and broadcloth were bought to make doublets for the king, and blue and green "tartar" of which to fashion him a "trevass." In 1491 arras was carried to the palace in anticipation of the arrival of a French herald. Later in this year James sent from Tantallon to fetch two guns from Linlithgow. The palace was part of the dower of Margaret Tudor.

On the 10th of April 1512 it was the birthplace of the prince afterwards James V. Nine days afterwards his mother there received thirty-six hanks of gold and eight ounces of sewing silk. She was far less of a needlewoman than her successor, Mary of Guise; but she must have employed herself on embroidery during the remaining years of her husband's reign, which she spent almost entirely in this house. Spices were delivered to her in the following year; locks were provided for the doors of the spice

house, the wardrobe, and the queen's pantry, and the queen's oratory was glazed anew.

A gaudy cradle for the prince was carried to Linlithgow on the Easter day which succeeded his birth. It was covered partly with English and partly with Paris scarlet, and was decorated with twenty-nine ells and three quarters of ribbons, and with a fustian belt of Milan green. Blankets and "other necessaries" were made out of sixteen ells of white material. The little prince was furnished with a coat of Galloway white, a scarlet coat with sleeves, and a sleeveless coat.

In the early summer the king, then involved in the perplexities which culminated in a disastrous war, held a council at Linlithgow. Afterwards he attended evensong at the church, "very sad and dolorous, making his devotion to God to send to him good chance and fortune in his voyage." There came in at the church door a man clad in a blue gown, who was belted with a roll of linen cloth, and booted up to his calves. On his head he wore only his long red yellow hair, which hung down to his shoulders and over his temples, and left his forehead bare. He carried a great pikestaff, and appeared to be about fifty-two years old. It seems that there was a crowd of nobles in the church, but the man came fast forward among them, "crying and speiring for the king" and repeating that he wished to speak to him. When he reached the royal desk, where James sat at prayer, he made slight reverence or salutation, but bent low over the desk before the king and spoke thus: "Sir king, my mother hes send me to thee desiring thee nocht to pass at this time where thou purposest, for gif thou dost thou wilt nocht fare weel in thy journey nor nane that passest witht thee; forther

she bad thee nocht mell witht no weman nor use witht their counsel nor lat them nocht tuitch thy body nor thou theirs, for and thou do it thou will be confoundit and brocht to shame." As he ended evensong was almost over: the king paused to consider how he should answer, and Sir David Lindsay and John English, the marshal, both young men, who were beside the king as his particular servants, were about to lay hands on the man in order "to speir forder tidings." But in a moment, and in the presence of them all, he vanished "as he had been ane blink of the sun or ane whip of the whirlwind." Pitscottie relates the story as he heard it from two eye-witnesses, Sir David Lindsay and John English.

Tradition tells that Margaret Tudor awaited news of the army of Scotland in the octagonal chamber high up in the south-west tower of the palace, which still is called Queen Margaret's Bower. Thence she could keep watch over many leagues of the kingdom, and could descry at a great distance a messenger who rode to bring her tidings. It is said that they told her there of Flodden, that "the flowers of the forest were a' wede awa." Before the end of September, the month in which the battle was fought, she was with the infant king at Stirling.

The portions of the palace attributed to James IV. are the south side and the architecturally splendid east side. On the latter, crowned with a triple crown, stood a statue of Julius II., the pope who gave to James the consecrated sword, now among the regalia at Edinburgh Castle. From 1488, when a wright of Dundee passed to Linlithgow to view the palace work, until the end of the reign large sums were spent on the fabric. £145 were paid in 1492 for the park dike. In 1511-12 all the windows of the great hall were

completely glazed and fitted with iron work. Much was done to the chapel: a ship of timber was used to make for it a roof; it was completely paved, and masons were employed on the choir. In the last spring of the reign organs were placed in the chapel and bound to the wall with great clasps. Sir David Lindsay boasted that Linlithgow Palace was "ane patron (pattern) in Portugall or France."

It is in this reign that we hear first of a garden at Linlithgow. Payment was made in 1488 to a gardener, and thereafter sums were appropriated to him at intervals for the purchase of seeds. These, when specified, were invariably the seeds of leeks and onions, but he is known also to have produced apples. In September 1505 he bought eight hives of bees; and in 1512 it was rendered obligatory for him annually to supply the royal household with two barrels of onions, and two firlots (firlotæ) of mustard.

Linlithgow is less associated with James V. than with his father. He paid it, however, at least one visit in his early childhood, in 1516–17, when certain minstrels of Stirling came in his train. The palace is connected with a tragedy which has been rendered famous by Lindsay's verse. In November 1518, a certain William Meldrum of Binnis set out from Edinburgh to Leith with Lady Gleneagles, whom he wished to marry if he might obtain a papal license. He had a rival in Luke Stirling, who loved the same lady, and who had induced his sister's son, the laird of Keir, to attempt the murder of the laird of Binnis. With fifty armed men Keir attacked Binnis near the Rood chapel. He found a tough adversary, who with the five men of his company slew Keir's principal servants, and wounded Keir himself to the peril of his life, as well as twenty-six of his men. But at last

Binnis was overpowered; he was thrown to the ground and left to die. The news of the tumult reached de la Bastie, then deputy regent, at Holyrood. "He incontinent gart strike ane 'larum, blew his trumpets, rang the common bell, and commanded all to follow him on horse and foot," and hurried "fiercely" to the place of the fight. Lindsay tells how, when he found Meldrum lying wounded to death, with his men about him in like case, he mourned over this ancient comrade of the court of France. Then he pursued the assailants, who reached Linlithgow, took possession of the palace, and attempted a defence. They were obliged however to surrender to de la Bastie's siege, and were carried to Edinburgh where they were imprisoned in the castle. In March 1522 the queen mother, Margaret, then the wife of Angus, was at Linlithgow Palace.

In January 1526, Angus, accompanied by the king, put down at Linlithgow the Homes and the Kers of Cessford and Ferniehurst with whom he was at feud. It is to this affair that a pardon, granted in July to one who had taken part in a siege of the palace, must refer. In September a pitched battle was fought at Linlithgow, and Angus and Arran defeated the party of Lennox. Afterwards, Angus and certain Hamiltons, Homes, and Kers remained at the palace "in great mirriness," with the fourteen year old king, who was "sorrowful and dolorous for the tinsal of his kinsman, the Earl of Lennox, and mony other gentlemen who had perished by the king's occasion for matter enterprised by the king's command. And he feared and despaired for his own life."

The next important event in the history of the palace was the visit to it of Mary of Guise, made in 1538 before her entry into Edinburgh. She declared

that she had never seen "a more princely palace," and stayed in it for a day or two. Throughout the remainder of her life she was much at Linlithgow. She was there in March 1539, together with Senat her fool and the two sisters of the Earl of Lennox. The wardrobe of the party was replenished at the expense of the exchequer. The queen acquired a kirtle made of green Bruges satin, her fool a gown of scarlet and yellow cloth. For the other ladies black velvet, black satin, and taffetas were procured, as well as two frieze gowns and two satin kirtles, all bordered with velvet, two collars, two bibs, two little collars, and two hats made by a French tailor.

At Epiphany 1540 Sir David Lindsay's "Satire of the Three Estates" was presented before the king, the queen, the "lasses of Linlithgow," and the estates of parliament. The event was regarded as indicative of the king's desire to reform the bishops and other clergy, and as such was reported to the English government. After the play the king, to point its moral, called upon the chancellor, the Bishop of Glasgow, and on several other bishops to amend "their factions and their manners of living"; and threatened, if they did not comply, to "send six of the proudest of them to his uncle of England; and as those were ordered so he would order all the rest that would not amend." To this the chancellor replied that "one word of his grace's mouth should suffice them to be at commandment"; and the king retorted, hastily and angrily, that he would bestow on them any words of his mouth that could better them.

Later in the year the palace was the scene of one of the tragedies of the Stewart kings. Sir James Hamilton of Finnart was a bastard son of the first Earl of Arran. At the battle of Linlithgow he took

Lennox prisoner and slew him in cold blood. Nevertheless he found favour with the king. In the very year of Lennox's death James granted to him, as to his "loved familiar," the captaincy of Linlithgow Palace. He loved him "sa weill and inwardly that in society of his council oft he called him; and till others oft made repetition of his diligence, faith, and study, that in the palaces of Stirling and Lethquoo with him sa diligent he had been in repairing them." He was the king's chief "sewar" or cup-bearer, and received in 1539 a grant of lands in recognition of his services. Further he attained to high judicial office and was prominent among the Catholic party. This man on the 16th of August 1540 was convicted in Edinburgh of having had "art and part in the treachery of shooting arrows and machines without the palace of Linlithgow and its bell tower" at the king and persons in the royal train. His motive appears to have been connected with religious and family intrigues. The trial was according to the ancient form: Finnart met in single combat his accuser and namesake, his cousin Sir James Hamilton of Kincavel, and was slain. It is said that the king had wished his favourite to have his freedom untried, and was ever after this betrayal moody and suspicious.

Next year there is record of a friar who at Linlithgow preached to the young queen, who was "all papist," a sermon to extol the authority of the Bishop of Rome, heard by the bishops of Glasgow, Galloway, and Aberdeen but by no temporal lords.

On the 8th of December 1542, while her father lay dying at Falkland, Mary Stewart was born at Linlithgow. Some English agents wrote on the 12th to Henry VIII. that she was "a very weak child and not like to live, as it is thought." Yet two days later she

became queen; and Sadler, when he viewed her at the palace, pronounced her a fine infant.

The chief portions of the fabric believed to have been built by James V. and Hamilton are the south porch to the right of which is the guardroom, and the detached gateway which leads to the town. Over this gate James placed the emblems of the four orders of knighthood, those of St. Michael, the Golden Fleece, and the Garter, given to him, respectively, by Francis I., Charles V., and Henry VIII., and that of the Thistle, which he invented or revived himself. Much other decoration is also attributed to him. The three niches over the east gate, once the main entrance, were filled in 1535 with statues of a pope, a knight, and a labouring man, painted in brilliant colours. The fountain in the centre of the courtyard has been ascribed to James IV., but money was spent on it in 1542. In 1541 the north quarter of the palace had been propped. Pitscottie states that James V. "translated" the palace.

Intrigues gathered fast round the little queen at Linlithgow. In March 1543 parliament decided that she should remain at the palace, and that a council of nobles should be her keepers. Meanwhile Argyll came to the aid of the queen mother and Beaton, as representatives of the anti-English party, and brought a band of Highlandmen who lay so long around Linlithgow to guard the queen that all the corn was destroyed within a distance of a mile. Lennox came out of France at the bidding of Mary of Guise. He went from Holyrood to Linlithgow, and thence westwards to his own country, and was joined by many kinsmen and friends. All this alarmed the regent Arran, who was then of the faction of Henry VIII. He would with only a small power have gone to Lin-

lithgow to fetch the young queen, but his advisers deterred him from such a challenge to Lennox and his men of the west. Eventually commissioners of either side met to frame a compromise. The queen's person was entrusted to four neutrals, Lindsay of the Byres, Erskine, Graham, and Livingstone, who were directed to keep her at Stirling at the will of the council. They passed to Linlithgow to receive her; and until she had been delivered to them Lennox remained at the palace. He had a formidable escort, 25,000 spearmen on horseback, well arrayed "in Scots harness and weapons," marshalled under his great standard, and 1000 footmen of Bute, Arran, and Lennox. The two queens were convoyed to Stirling by the followers of Bothwell, Huntly, and Moray. All earls, lords, barons, landed men, and other lieges who had in such warlike manner assembled either at Linlithgow or Stirling were declared guiltless in parliament at the end of the year. In 1544, when the English were in Edinburgh, Arran and the cardinal retired to Linlithgow. This was probably the occasion of the employment in this year of certain gunners extraordinary at the palace.

The Protestant lords on the 6th of November 1559, having regard to their "mischances," and their unreadiness for war, removed at midnight from Edinburgh to Linlithgow. The English agents wrote to Cecil that they were about to establish a mint, and to coin their plate in order to "maintain the word of God and the weal of Scotland." Probably they occupied the palace.

Queen Mary Stewart visited Linlithgow Palace during the progress which succeeded her return to Scotland. She arrived on the 11th of September in 1561, and remained for two days. Five years later, in March,

after the murder of Riccio and the flight of Mary and Darnley from Holyrood, the banished lords "with dolorous hearts" rode out of Edinburgh to Linlithgow. There is no indication that they were at the palace. In the following January the queen was at Linlithgow on her way from Glasgow to Holyrood, the journey which preceded Darnley's death. Subsequently in May she would appear again to have been at the palace previously to her abduction by Bothwell on the road between Linlithgow and Edinburgh. This is the sum of the famous queen's association with the house.

No great works were undertaken on it in her reign. The most interesting record in such connection regards the carriage in 1544 of two iron gates from Holyrood to Linlithgow. There are details as to the keepership. In this office James Hamilton of Finnart seems to have been succeeded by Matthew Hamilton, captain and keeper in 1543, and by Andrew Hamilton, keeper in 1545. A concurrent or deputy keepership must have been held by William Dennistoun, who received payment for his custody in 1543. In 1550 and in 1554 Robert Hamilton of Briggs was by a grant of the queen and the regent Châtelhérault, principal captain and keeper of the place, palace, park, loch, eel ark, peel, and herbage. These offices in 1560 were held by James Hamilton of Crawfordjohn; and the Sheriff of Linlithgowshire was responsible for their profits. The recurrent tenure of Hamiltons is not remarkable in view of the high place occupied by that family in the period; the office may have been one with which to content a poor relation. In 1567 Mary granted to Andrew Ferrier to be keeper of the palace with its parks, peels, loch, meadows, gardens, yards, orchards, and appurtenances. He must cultivate the "Brumefaulds," evidently certain folds enclosed with hedges of

broom, for the guarding and the pasture of the royal mares; and he must plant trees in the peels wherever needful for ornament, pasture, and pleasure. This is the first certain instance of the use of the word peel with its modern significance. It is probably of Celtic origin, and was a not uncommon mediæval term for a castle or tower. At Linlithgow it has come to be applied to the precincts of the palace. In the charter to Andrew it was further stipulated that he should seize all poachers, shooters with the culverin, and hunters in the loch and the park, and deliver them to the sheriff and other officers of Linlithgow for apprehension and safe keeping until they were required by royal command. This grant to Andrew was cancelled a month later in favour of another in like terms to Robert Melville of Murdocairney, his heirs and assigns. Thus an hereditary keepership was instituted. The gardens of which Robert had custody were specified as "the little garden and the garden." He received as appurtenant to his office a right of common pasture; and was charged to render every Pentecost within the palace a white penny to the queen and her successors.

About the year 1570 the historian Leslie describes Linlithgow "decored with the king's palice, a beutiful temple and a pleasand loch swoming full of fine perches and others notable fish." Thither in January of that year the regent Moray rode to his death. His enemies were the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Abbot of Arbroath; they had suborned for their purpose the archbishop's nephew, John Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. He, it is said, had made attempts on the life of Moray as he travelled from Dumbarton to Edinburgh, both at Glasgow and at Stirling. At Linlithgow he hid himself in the lodging of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, apparently in a room beneath an outside stair

LINLITHGOW PALACE.

Photo. by Spooner.

which had a trellis window. He hung damp sheets over the window to hide the smoke, and was armed with a hackbut.

Moray received a warning that there was a purpose to shoot him as he rode through the town. He would not relinquish his journey to Edinburgh, but at first thought of leaving Linlithgow by the gate through which he had entered. Afterwards he decided only to ride rapidly past the suspected place. When, however, he set out, at about ten in the morning of the 23rd of January, with some two hundred gentlemen of his company, such crowds had gathered in his honour that any pace was impossible. Opposite the archbishop's lodging he was shot through the body. He reeled in his saddle, then alighted, and returned on foot to the guard-room of the palace, as though he felt no pain. There he set his house in order and recommended the young king to the care of the nobles who were present; and when he was reminded of the lenity he had shown to his murderer, whom he spared after Langside, he replied that he did not repent of his clemency. He died at about eleven at night, "the whilk deid of this prince was sair unto the common weill of Scotland." His body was taken first to the chapel royal at Stirling, then to Edinburgh for burial.

Bothwellhaugh had escaped by a back gate to his horse held there in waiting for him, the horse of his uncle, the archbishop, lent to him for the occasion. He rode fast for Hamilton, pursued by the regent's men, who however abandoned the chase when they found "the lave of the Hamiltons" waiting at different points of the road to guard their kinsman. The pursuers returned to Linlithgow and burnt the archbishop's lodging.

In a fray William, Lord Cathcart, shot one of the regent's company, the laird of Wormiston, "who was in all his lyff sa gentill, sa humane, sa kynd, sa hardie and sa prosperous and happie in all his warres."

The death of Moray was an incident in the struggle of the parties of the king and the queen: it was planned by the queen's friends and mourned by staunch Protestants. The queen's nobles now chose Linlithgow as the meeting place of a convention to be held in April: it was in progress on the 23rd of the month. On the 1st of May a fight took place at Linlithgow between Châtelhérault and Huntly, both adherents of Mary, who led one thousand men, and fifteen hundred men under Glencairn and Mar. On the 17th the devastating English army marched from Dunbar to Linlithgow, where it does not appear that they received any check. At the end of July a parliament of the queen's party was planned to take place in Linlithgow: Elizabeth wrote instructions to Sussex as to how he should proceed in case it assembled; Huntly desired Lord Hay there with his household, kin, and tenants to meet him, in order to set forth the queen's authority. But on the morrow of the day on which Huntly wrote, on the 31st of July, Linlithgow Palace had been occupied by soldiers sent by the regent Lennox, who himself had determined to go thither and to remain until the day for the convention of the queen's parliament had passed. He was followed by Mar, Morton, and others. On the 6th of August Châtelhérault and Huntly were said to be gathering men with whom they would come to Linlithgow to hold their parliament; but on the 7th Lennox left the palace in order to follow Huntly northwards to his own country. Thus Mary's parliament had been prevented.

The Marian keeper of the palace, Sir Robert Melville, had in September 1571 been forfeited for his adherence to the queen; and his office was granted for life to Captain Andrew Lamby, "a rough soldier, and a determined enemy of the Hamiltons." He received leave to take for himself or demise to tenants the fish, grass, hay, and other profits of the palace, as his predecessors had done. In the following February he carried off James Kirkcaldy from Blackness Castle, which stronghold Kirkcaldy had seized, and brought him, with his men, to Linlithgow, whence he sent him to Edinburgh. In September the regent Mar ordered the provost and bailies and the county of Linlithgow to pay to Lamby the expenses of the soldiers appointed as a guard for the palace, and to tax the town for the purpose. When Edinburgh Castle fell next year one of the surrendering garrison was Sir Robert Melville, the former keeper of Linlithgow. His life was spared by the regent Morton.

In the autumn of 1575 Morton passed through Linlithgow as he journeyed from his house of Dalkeith to visit the king at Stirling. He was escorted by Lord Claude and Lord James Hamilton, and met by Lord Livingstone and his friends. Two years later, in August, Robert Stewart, the brother of Mary and of the Earl of Moray, was committed to ward in Linlithgow Palace. His freedom was restored to him in the following January. Morton, with his kinsman Angus, was in 1579 engaged in a raid against the Hamiltons, a vengeance for Moray's death in which the regent's escort to Linlithgow of 1575 suffered. In this strife Andrew Lamby was implicated as Morton's adherent: he complained in April 1579 that Alexander and James, the sons of Mungo Hamilton, were seeking his death

and preventing his free access to Linlithgow Palace. The accused men were committed for trial. In May Douglas of Lochleven, Mar, and Buchan, took Draffen Castle, and they treated as responsible for its defence the insane Earl of Arran, and sent him, with his mother, the Duchess of Châtelhérault, to Linlithgow Palace, to the keeping of the "determined enemy" of his house. Arran's brother David was there with him in June.

Lamby fell with Morton. On the 19th of December 1580, the month of the earl's accusation, all grants to him of the captaincy and keepership of Linlithgow were revoked, and the palace was ordered to be surrendered to Lord Robert Stewart.

In May 1582, the period of the ascendancy of Lennox which preceded the Ruthven raid, James VI. and Lennox visited Linlithgow.

On the 9th of November 1585 the Douglases and Hamiltons, who at Stirling had reversed the position of parties, brought James to Linlithgow Palace. Sir Cuthbert Collingwood wrote to Walsingham that they had furnished its halls with the "stuff" of the Hamiltons' house of Kinneil: the victorious party must have prepared for the king's reception with such material as came to hand. They altered the officers of the household: the principal charge of the king's person was given to the Master of Glamis, captain of the guard. On the 1st of December parliament met in the great hall of the palace; pardons and restorations were distributed among the ascendant faction: and James simulated satisfaction in the change which had occurred, and was bombastically Protestant in his speech. On Christmas eve the court left Linlithgow for Inverleith.

The hereditary keepership of Linlithgow granted

by Queen Mary to Robert Melville, had been restored to him, perhaps on the forfeiture of Andrew Lamby. In 1587 Robert, then treasurer-deputy, with the consent of his son, resigned his office to the king, for the purpose of its regrant in tail male to Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul, knight and justice-clerk, a man very prominent in contemporary politics. The old rent of a penny at Pentecost, payable within the palace, remained obligatory; and rents to the annual value of one hundred marks, and derived from the park and peel, were assigned to the expenses of upkeep.

In 1588 it was stipulated in a grant of the lands of Bonnytoun and Blackness, with their coals and other appurtenances, and of the hereditary offices of bailie and chamberlain of the county, that the holder must, whenever coal was taken out of the ground, render twenty-five chalders, or for each chalder obtained render 10s., to serve the king when he was at Linlithgow Palace.

In January 1588, when Scotland saw before her the fear of the Invincible Armada, the Catholic lords, Huntly, Glencairn, Montrose, Crawford, Rothes, Errol, and Sutherland, and Claude Hamilton and his brother, convened at Linlithgow. It was said that they hoped to capture the king's person, and that it was with the intention of effecting a junction with them that Herries, with seven or eight hundred horse, advanced within three miles of Edinburgh. No meeting took place: the followers of Herries were dispersed, and he rode to Linlithgow with only ten men. The king sent emissaries thither to ask the cause of the assembly, to enjoin Huntly to come to Edinburgh and bring with him the laird of Criche, who must answer for his slaughter of a kinsman of the Earl of March. Huntly replied that he would come only with the escort of his

friends and forces; and when he was absolutely commanded to obey, on pain of treason, he declined flatly. Herries was ordered to enter into ward, because he had without authority raised the king's subjects, but he refused compliance and "rode his way." He, Huntly, and others, were on the 6th of February denounced by a special assembly of the Kirk. The Catholic lords must have left Linlithgow on the 9th of April, when the king, with some six or seven score of horsemen, passed a night there on his way from Edinburgh to Stirling and the north.

The palace, with the lordship of Linlithgow, and with the loch, pastures, fishings, mills, coals, coal-heuchs, and other appurtenances, was by act of parliament part of the "morrowing gift" of James VI. to his "dearest spouse" Anne of Denmark: for the last time in its history it was made the dower-house of a queen. Formal possession of it was taken in May 1590 by the admiral of the Danes on the queen's behalf.

In the spring of 1592, before Bothwell's attempt at Falkland, James was for some time at Linlithgow with the chancellor Maitland, so odious to the Bothwellian party and the queen. He was there again in October with Maitland and with those others whose avoidance of the court Bothwell procured some months later at Holyrood, Home and the Master of Glamis. The Stewarts on this occasion all abandoned the court, such was their discontent with the continued favour shown to Maitland; and for the same reason the queen repeatedly refused to come to the palace. The king sent for Hamilton and asked him to consent to the banishment of Bothwell; but Hamilton replied that the earl had been freely pardoned by the king and acquitted at a trial. He unconditionally refused his consent and rode away.

Before September 1593 Bothwell had won and lost again: his raid on Holyrood had succeeded, the forces which supported him no longer combined. On the 11th he was forbidden to come near the king, then at Linlithgow. James at the palace received leading members of the opposite faction; Maitland, the Master of Glamis, and Ker of Cessford, who came with two or three hundred horse. A guard of fifty horse was committed to Home.

In the succeeding years before James went to England the court was on several occasions at Linlithgow Palace, but such visits were little distinguished. The queen in May 1595 lay there "very sick," and in the previous month there is a rare mention of the hunting of the king from this house. When the tumults of Edinburgh drove the court to withdraw from Holyrood in December 1596, they removed to Linlithgow Palace.

At Linlithgow, as elsewhere, the ordinances which forbade hunting within six miles of the palace were published in 1606, 1607, and other years. The hereditary keepership was resigned by William Bellenden of Bruchtoun, nephew of Sir Lewis Bellenden, and regranted in tail male on the old terms to Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow, who was the brother of Sir Lewis's wife. He as keeper wrote to the king on the 6th of September 1607, to inform him that between three and four o'clock that morning the whole north side of the palace, the oldest part which had been propped in 1541, had fallen to the ground. Only the outside walls remained, and of them that which faced the courtyard looked as though it might give way at any moment and demolish the fountain in its fall. The earl recalled to the king that he had two years previously warned him of the unsafe con-

dition of the building, yet nothing had been done to prevent the catastrophe. He offered to endeavour that a part of the taxes granted for the repair of royal houses should be assigned to the fulfilment of the king's will in the matter. But it does not appear that James at this time took any steps for the restoration of this Scottish palace.

In January 1617 the lords of council directed the Earl of Linlithgow to let out no more of Linlithgow park, and to preserve and enclose all of it not already let for the pasture of certain wedders designed to furnish the royal household. Such order was followed by a visit of the king to the palace in the ensuing June; and it is evident that James at last apprehended the neglected state of the palace. The rebuilding of the north side was undertaken.

This work was executed under the direction of Gideon Murray, master of works; the architecture has been ascribed to Inigo Jones. A warrant was issued in February 1619 for the demolition of certain old buildings between the new and the old works; another in July 1620 for the purchase of 3000 stone of lead for the roofing of the new work. The masonry of the north side must therefore have been practically complete at the latter date; it bears the dates 1619 and 1620.

In March 1625 the mending of the roofs of the great hall, the King's Tower and the Queen's Tower, and of the chimney heads of these towers was ordered; and in 1629 certain sums were spent "for painting and laying over with oyle cullour, and for gelting with gold the haill foir face of the new wark."

There is no evidence that there was ever at Linlithgow such careful preservation of game as distinguishes the history of Falkland Palace: it was not

pre-eminently a house whither the kings went to hunt. That keen sportsman James VI. took however some pains to develop the resources of the place in this respect. He revived the old connection with the house of Hamilton when he appointed Sir John Hamilton of Grange, knight, to preserve all hunting rights appurtenant to the palace within certain distinct bounds. The duty would appear previously to have been discharged by the keeper. In 1632 the warrant to Grange was renewed by order of Charles I., who considered this district very proper for hunting owing to its nearness to the houses in which he intended chiefly to reside during his abode in Scotland. The measure was one of the preparations for the king's visit; at much the same time orders were issued for necessary repairs to the building, for the reservation of lodgings in the town, for the impressment of assistants to the royal baxters and pastry-cooks, for the mending of the bridges between Cramond and Kirkliston over which the king must pass on his way to Linlithgow. He rode thither in July after he had dined at Holyrood, and made apparently a very short stay before he passed onwards into Fife.

The keepership was settled in 1640 and 1642 on George, the son and heir of Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow. In the deed there is mention of certain stanks or fishing-ponds of the palace, as well as the loch. The old annual rent of a penny appears to have become obsolete, but 100 marks a year were still appropriated to the upkeep. In this period Lord Linlithgow lived in the new north side of the palace, and an interesting document of the year 1648 gives an inventory of his rather exiguous supply of household goods. The easternmost bedroom contained a

standing bed, a canopy bed, two wrought chairs, a stool, a table and tablecloth, a form, and certain hangings. In another chamber there was a wicker bed. The plate, which was kept in the pantry, consisted only of a great silver basin, a laver, a silver salt foot, six silver spoons, a tin basin, and three tin chandeliers, of which one was broken. There were also in the pantry the scanty stock of napery, three dornick and one damask tablecloth, three dozen dornick and one dozen damask napkins and three towels; and a case in which were seven knives and one fork, as well as a little table and a kist. In the kitchen there were a dozen great charger plates and two dozen ordinary plates, two saucers, three spits, five pots, two pans, one pestle and mortar, a ladle, a skimmer, a "brander," a frying pan, a "pot brod," a goose pan, and a pair of standing "raxes." There were eight beef stands, four herring stands, and seven little barrels for fish in the larder.

In 1646 parliament and the university of Edinburgh took refuge at Linlithgow from the plague. The estates met in the palace.

The modest household indicated by the inventory of 1648 was disturbed by the civil war and the establishment of the Commonwealth. In 1657 the custody of the palace was granted to Colonel Leonard Lydcot. In July of this year the house had been garrisoned by two companies of soldiers. These probably consisted, in accordance with advice tendered by Monk to the Protector, of a company of seventy foot, and another of thirty horse. Certain fortifications were erected; evidently the palace was placed in a state of defence, but there is no record of damage done to the building.

The old keepers returned at the Restoration. In

1661 and again in 1669 the constabulary and custody of the palace were ratified in tail male to George, Earl of Linlithgow. The fortifications set up by the "Englishes" were in January 1663 yet standing. The lords of council therefore ordered Lord Linlithgow to undertake their demolition, and empowered him to convene for the purpose the magistrates, heritors, and inhabitants of the town and parish, for the appointment of a sufficient number of persons who should do the work under his directions.

James, fifth Earl of Linlithgow, fought for the Stewarts in the rising of 1715, and was in consequence attainted and deprived of his keepership with his other estates in February 1716. It does not appear to whom the office was at once granted; it may for some time have been vested in the crown. At the time of the 'Forty-five, however, a certain Mrs. Glen Gordon is said to have lived in the palace as deputy keeper.

On the 13th of September 1745, the army of Prince Charles reached the Forth; and at their approach Gardiner's dragoons retired upon Linlithgow. They evacuated it as the Jacobites advanced, and at six o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 15th of September, Charles Edward entered the town. His army encamped on its east side. He interviewed the magistrates, and begged them to let all the usual church services take place; but cowardice or excitement had got the better of the minister, and he did not officiate. The prince spent the day quietly in the palace; it is said that in his honour Mrs. Glen Gordon caused the fountain to flow with wine. That evening the army bivouacked three miles to the west of Edinburgh, and the prince slept in a neighbouring house, traditionally on the site of Champfleury, then Kingscavil.

In the following January the fortunes of the combatant parties were reversed. Lord George Murray, commanding for the prince, brought his five battalions from Falkirk to Linlithgow on the 13th. At the approach of Hawley's troops he returned to Linlithgow. The advance guard of Hawley's force, under Huske, marched on Linlithgow on the same day, the main body on the 15th, and Hawley himself with Cobham's troops on the 16th. On the 16th also Huske went northwards; Hawley and his dragoons remained quartered in the palace.

On the 1st of February Cumberland on his way from Edinburgh to Stirling reached Linlithgow, and he appears there to have passed the night. On that very night the palace was burnt by the carelessness of Hawley's soldiers. Probably the weather was bitter, and there is a story that Mrs. Glen Gordon remonstrated with Hawley as to the enormous fires which his men had kindled. He replied that he did not care though the palace were burnt to the ground, and she retorted, "Weel, weel, general, an that be the case, I can rin awa' frae fire as fast as you." Her allusion was to his rout at Falkirk.

The result was the ruin which now stands in the place of the palace "magnificently built of polished stone," which so impressed Sibbald late in the seventeenth century. Its keepership was granted in 1777 to the eighth Duke of Hamilton, but is now vested in the commissioners of woods and forests.

Linlithgow Palace is a good example of the quadrangular architecture of the fifteenth century. On the ground floor a kitchen, a bakery, cellars, guard-rooms, and stables can be traced. The chief rooms were all on the first floor. Its east side was chiefly occupied by the great hall, called Parliament Hall from the

session of several parliaments, which measures 100 by 30 feet. At the north end was the musicians' gallery; and "screens" or a passage communicated with the buttery, converted into a kitchen probably under James VI. The original entrance to the hall was also near the north end, and it is surmised that a flight of steps led to it from the courtyard. But these seem to have been removed and the door disused, perhaps with the desire for symmetry which distinguishes work done in the reign of James V. The daïs was at the south end of the hall, and its large window and beautiful fireplace remain. On the south side of the quadrangle two private rooms of the king communicated with the hall; and west of them, beyond a passage, was the chapel, of which the deep pointed windows and canopied niches still show that it had much beauty of decoration. It had a gallery at the west end. West of the chapel was an anteroom of like size to it, beyond which was another private room. The dining-room, the drawing-room in which Queen Mary is said to have been born, and the royal bedroom, occupied the west side of the quadrangle. The long low mullioned window, high in the wall of the drawing-room and looking to the courtyard, is believed to have been inserted in order to give light to an elaborately carved ceiling. The seventeenth-century north side was chiefly occupied by a long and narrow banqueting hall, to the south of which were several small rooms, probably bedrooms, since in each was a round closet or garderobe.

Parliament Hall and the chapel were of a height to engross the second as well as the first floor of the building. The other rooms on the upper story must have been bedrooms and sitting-rooms.

The ground on the north and on the west side of

the palace slopes down to the loch; and it is from the loch that the palace as a whole can best be seen. It stands against a background of hills, and in the foreground are grass-covered banks, and trees which grow close to the walls and partly hide them with their greenery. The scale is impressive; the more so because, where distance renders unconspicuous the modern work of the north side, an effect of singleness of design is produced. Linlithgow Palace has not, like Falkland, the beauty of a building which from natural causes has slowly decayed. It is a gaunt ruin, with the grimness of that which has fallen by a sudden disaster.

Balmoral Castle

IT was a strange turn of fortune which led modern sovereigns of Britain to build a palace near the site of the castle of Kyndrochit, where their early forerunners had lived; and which, after a lapse of five centuries, again brought kings to hunt in the forests of Deeside.

The district was included in the extensive territory of Mar, of which the existence as a place of separate jurisdiction can be traced from very early times. In 1014 a certain Donald, son of Emin, was Mormaer of Mar; and early in the twelfth century Ruadri, first Earl of Mar, signed the foundation charter of the abbey of Scone. Between 1214 and 1234 occurs a grant by Duncan, Earl of Mar, of the church of "Kindrouch."

The lands of Abergeldie, on the south bank of the Dee, were part of the earldom. As such in 1455 and afterwards, while the estates of Mar were held by the crown, their revenues were recorded in the rolls of the exchequer. In 1482, James III. granted to his "beloved and familiar esquire" Alexander of Mygmair or Midmar, otherwise Alexander Gordon, second son of the first Earl of Huntly, the lands of Abergeldie. Two years later there is record of Alexander in a further capacity, that of farmer of the lordships of Strathdee and Cromar; and as such he rendered annually to the crown £8, 6s. 8d. for "Balmorain," and £10 for "Kindrocht." In 1531 the same rents for

"Balmorar" and "Kindroch" were paid by George, Earl of Huntly, then farmer.

Queen Mary granted the earldom of Mar in 1562 to her natural brother James Stewart, better known as Earl of Moray; and in 1564 she conferred on him the lordships of Braemar and Strathdee by a separate charter, which specified the lands of Kindrocht or Casteltoun as part of the former, and, as included in Strathdee, the lands of "Balmoran," which were worth annually £15, 4s. 10d., and three quarters of a mart, three sheep, eight hens called "lie reik," and two bolls of oats. They had thus during the previous thirty years become more profitable to their overlord; and, it is to be hoped, more productive.

Next year, in accordance with the finding of an inquest, John, Lord Erskine, was declared to be rightful heir to the earldom of Mar. In his favour Moray resigned the dignity, and to him, as appurtenant to his title, the lands of Cromar and Strathdee were granted by charter.

The mesne lords of Highland properties can rarely be traced, because Highland tenures were recorded not in documents but in custom. Thus the Farquharsons, who claim to have settled on the Braes of Mar in the thirteenth or fourteenth century and were certainly there before the battle of Pinkie, received charters from the earls only under Charles I. Nothing is known of the lairds of Balmoral, who held under the lords of Mar until 1635. Then in a valuation of lands within the parish of Crathie there is the entry: "Balmorall pertaining to James Gordon of Balmorall £88 (Scots); Balmorall pertaining to him £44 (Scots)."

Since the date of the grant by James III., the Gordons of Abergeldie had become a leading family

BALMORAL CASTLE.

Engraved by E. O. Brandard from a picture by A. Becker.

on the banks of the upper Dee, rivalled in importance only by the Farquharsons. The estate of Balmoral marches with theirs; and it seems probable that James Gordon represented a cadet branch of the house, which had come to be tenants of the lesser property. That Balmoral never formed part of Abergeldie as held by the Gordons is certain, because it did not share the privilege, confirmed to that estate in 1507, of being distinct and separate from the earldom of Mar. Alexander, fourth laird of Abergeldie, had a younger son, James, alive in 1609, who may have been the holder of Balmoral; but there is equal reason to suppose that James Gordon of Balmoral was the descendant of a member of an earlier generation.

We have some knowledge of the house in which he lived. The oldest part of the castle of Balmoral demolished by Queen Victoria was a high rectangular tower, with a crow-stepped gabled roof surrounded by a battlemented parapet. A round tower at one corner occupied the whole height of the building, and had a conical roof, and at the other angles were turrets. This severe and solid castle, proportionately very lofty, its simplicity relieved by slit-like windows, was very characteristic of Scottish architecture. It may have dated from the sixteenth century.

Such particulars as there are of life on Deeside before the eighteenth century concern hunting and fighting. A grant made in 1632 to a certain Donald Farquharson of the lands of Camusmakist, in the Brae of Mar, may be taken as typical of the conditions under which the tenants of the earls held, at the period when such were first defined by documents. Donald must render to Lord Mar at his principal dwelling-house in the Brae of Mar, called the castle of Kindrocht, a yearly feu-duty; the earl reserved

to himself the hunting of deer and roe; his vassal was bound to pay suit to the head courts at Kindrocht, and was moreover liable to a summons to judge those who hunted deer without leave, or who stole or put away hawks or their nests within the bounds of Mar. For these offences, and for the cutting or destruction of wood, fines payable in marts might be imposed. Wolves and foxes were classed together as "destroying beastis" which it was meritorious to kill, and a vassal who slew a roe while in pursuit of them stood excused. At every hunting within Mar all vassals must personally attend the lord with eight followers from each davoch of land, and with dogs and hounds. They must erect, to accommodate those who took part in the sport, temporary huts called "lonquhards," and must supply for each occasion "tinchellis" or scouts. John Taylor, the water-poet, has left an account of a hunting of Lord Mar at which he was present in 1618:—

"The manner of the hunting is this: five or six hundred men doe rise early in the morning, and they doe disperse themselves divers wayes, and seven, eight or ten miles compasse, they doe bring or chase in the deer in many heards (two, three or four hundred in a heard) to such or such a place as the noblemen shall appoint them; then when day is come, the lords and gentlemen of their companies doe ride or goe to the said places, sometimes wading up to the middles through bournes and rivers; and then they being come to the place doe lie down on the ground till those foresaid scouts, which are called the 'Tinckhell,' doe bring down the deer; but as the proverb says of a bad cook, so these 'Tinckhell' men doe lick their own fingers; for besides their bowes and arrows which they carry with them, wee can heare now and then a

harquebuse or a musquet goe off, which doe seldom discharge in vaine; then after we had stayed three hours or thereabouts, we might perceive the deer appeare on the hills round about us (their heads making a shew like a wood), which being followed close by the Tinckhell, are chased down into the valley where we lay; then all the valley on each side being waylaid with a hundred couple of strong Irish greyhounds, they are let loose as occasion serves upon the heard of deere, that with dogs, gunnes, arrows, dirks and daggers, in the space of two hours, fourscore fat deere were slaine, which after are disposed of some one way and some another, twenty or thirty miles, and more than enough left for us to make merry withall at our rendevouze. Being come to our lodgings, there was such baking, boyling, rosting and stewing, as if cook Ruffian had been there to have scalded the devil in his feathers."

Such must have been the manner of recreation of the early lairds of Balmoral. Of their other principal occupation there is evidence in the obligation which rested on all vassals of the Earl of Mar to attend his "hostings" at their own expense, and to be present at his "general musters and weapon schawings" within the sheriffdom of Aberdeen. The bonds of mutual support into which some of them are known to have entered indicate that, apart from their overlords, they pursued private feuds. Among the archives of the Farquharsons of Invercauld there is such a bond signed in 1559. In 1625 some of the Farquharsons agreed in Braemar church with certain Schaws, for themselves and all their kin, that, since they all were of one blood, they would maintain, succour, and defend each other in every honest and reasonable cause.

In 1666 there was in this district an encounter

between the Farquharsons and the Gordons rendered famous by a ballad. The aggressor appears to have been Farquharson of Inverey, who attacked Gordon of Brackley on the road to market. "It is the custome of that mountanious countrey to go with armes especiallie at mercats."

"When Brackley was busked and stood in the close
A gallanter Barrone ne'er lap on a horse;
When they were assembled on the Castle green,
Nae man like brave Brackley was there to be seen.
'Strik, dogs,' cries Inverey, 'and fecht till ye'r slain,
For we are twice twenty and ye but four men.'
At the head of Reneaton the battle began,
At Little Aucholzie they killed the first man.
They killed William Gordon and James o' the Knock,
And brave Alexander, the flower o' Glenmuick.
First they killed ane, and syne they killed twa,
They hae killed gallant Brackley, the flower o' them a';
Wi' swords and wi' daggers they did him surroun',
And they pierced bonny Brackley wi' mony a woun'.

. . . . . .

Frae the head o' the Dee to the banks o' the Spey,
The Gordons may mourn him and ban Inverey."

Before the end of the seventeenth century Balmoral had passed, perhaps as the effect of an intermarriage, from one to the other of the contesting families, from the tenure of the Gordons to that of Charles, second son of William Farquharson of Inverey and half-brother of John, called the "Black Colonel," who is the Inverey of the ballad. These Farquharsons were a cadet branch of the family of Invercauld.

Charles Farquharson died childless, and Balmoral was inherited by his cousin James, during whose tenancy there was a chapel on the estate. This James was a staunch Jacobite, and appears moreover to have been closely associated with his Jacobite overlord. It

was in this country, on the 16th of September 1715 that Mar raised the standard of rebellion :—

> "The standard's on the Braes o' Mar,
> Its ribbons streaming rarely,
> The gatherin' pipes on Lochnagar
> Are soundin' lang and sairly."

Probably James Farquharson was one of those who gathered beneath it, for he was aide-de-camp to the earl during the rising. Afterwards he acted as bailie of the Mar estates under Lords Grange and Dun. In the 'Forty-five he commanded a battalion of his clansmen, and occupied the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He accompanied the prince to England, and after the retreat of the army, he was wounded at the battle of Falkirk. This circumstance must account for the fact that at Culloden the Farquharsons of Balmoral fought under the leadership of his kinsman Monaltry. A list of rebels in the district, compiled in 1746, has the information that James Farquharson of Balmurret or Balmurle was in receipt of a yearly rental of £40, that his mansion-house was in very bad condition, and that he himself was "lurking." He was excepted from the scope of the act of indemnity to rebels passed in the next year. His death occurred soon afterwards, and by it and that of his nephew, Finla Farquharson of Inverey, the two estates of Balmoral and of Inverey accrued to the representative of a younger branch of the family, Alexander Farquharson of Auchendryne. It appears, therefore, that James Farquharson did not by his rebellion incur permanent deprivation, although it is unlikely that he escaped impoverishment. He was indeed much in debt before 1745. The Jacobite movement had a lasting effect on the tenure of Balmoral in that the overlordship of the Earl of Mar

ended with his forfeiture after 1715. Whether or not it was held to pass to the Farquharsons of Invercauld, who bought Braemar in 1730, or to remain after that date with the crown, is not clear.

The family who now held Balmoral lived in the castle, but usually called themselves the Farquharsons of Inverey. They were distinguished for adherence to the Roman Catholic faith. At Balmoral in August 1782 died the Rev. John Farquharson, a Jesuit, "chaplain to his nephew, Alexander Farquharson, Esq., of Inverey." He had been a missionary in Strathglass, and before 1745 had made a large collection of Gaelic poetry which was most unfortunately lost. In 1763 he had been "prefect of studies" at Douay; and he had retired to Deeside in 1773. His younger brother Charles was also a Jesuit, and died in 1799 as missionary at Braemar.

Alexander Farquharson was succeeded by his nephew James. He soon after 1794 removed from Balmoral to Bruxie in Old Deer, and sold the three estates of Balmoral, Inverey, and Auchendryne to the second Earl of Fife.

The earls did not inhabit Balmoral Castle, but let it. The tenant in 1818, and for several years afterwards, was a Captain Cameron. In 1837 a lease was acquired by Sir Robert Gordon, brother to the fourth Earl of Aberdeen, and a distinguished diplomat. In 1815, 1817, and 1821 he was associated with the Duke of Wellington as minister plenipotentiary at Vienna; and in 1826 he was envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in the Brazils. From 1828 to 1831 he was ambassador extraordinary at Constantinople; and, after ten years of private life, he was sent to Vienna in a like capacity in 1841. He made great additions at Balmoral, and converted it into the "pretty little

castle" which Queen Victoria found on her first visit. Modern buildings of some extent, and devoid of particular character, were erected behind the old tower which stood to the rear of the gardens. Sir Robert Gordon enlivened Deeside by his hospitality, and some noted people were his guests at the castle. There were the Duchess of Bedford, celebrated for her freedom of speech, a keen sportswoman who tramped the heather like a man, and her daughter, the beautiful Duchess of Abercorn, who is said to have acquired further fame by her dancing of the "Gille Calum." Another well-known beauty sometimes at Balmoral was Miss Lane Fox, a niece of the Duke and Duchess of Leeds who occupied Mar Lodge for some years. Sir Edwin Landseer was a visitor of wider fame. His studies in this neighbourhood were the material of some of his best-known pictures.

Thus the manners of a world beyond the glens and the mountains were brought to Balmoral. The death of Sir Robert Gordon occurred suddenly at the castle in the autumn of 1847; and in the ensuing year, Sir James Clark recommended Deeside as fit by its pure and bracing air for the residence of the queen. Balmoral Castle stood empty, and the remainder of Sir Robert Gordon's lease was acquired for the crown. In 1852 the Prince Consort bought the estate for £31,500.

The first visit of Queen Victoria to Balmoral was made with the Prince Consort in September 1848. She has left on record her pleasure in the calm and solitude, and the grandeur of the country. From that time until the end of her reign her autumn visits were annual events, and the practice was continued by King Edward.

The accommodation of the old castle was insufficient

for the royal party, and the house was demolished accordingly, and gave place to the existing building. On the 28th of September 1853, the queen in person laid the foundation-stone of the new castle, in the presence of her children, the Prince Consort, the Duchess of Kent, and many others.

Balmoral Castle is built of granite quarried on the estate and peculiarly white in colour. In the distance, where the crystalline sparkle characteristic of granite is not perceived, it has the effect of white marble. The architect was Mr. William Smith of Aberdeen, but he adopted many suggestions made by the Prince Consort. The style is that called Scottish baronial; and the most striking feature of the building is a rectangular tower which has at three corners turrets and at the fourth a round tower, and is very faintly reminiscent of the ancient castle. The site is a little to the west of that of the earlier house, further from the birch-covered hill of Craig Gowan and nearer to the Dee. By this position a less interrupted view of the valley of the river has been secured. All the grounds were laid out according to the plans of the Prince Consort and under his direction.

The interior decoration is very simple, and designed as that of a Highland shooting-box rather than of a palace. All the woodwork is of unvarnished pitch-pine; objects of the chase, Highland weapons and trophies, and some of Landseer's pictures were chosen as congruous ornaments for the walls; and most of the curtains and carpets are of tartan, the gaudy royal Stewart or the more sober hunting Stewart.

In September 1855 the queen visited the new castle for the first time. The building was still incomplete, and a great part of the suite and most of the servants were lodged in the old house. She was entirely satis-

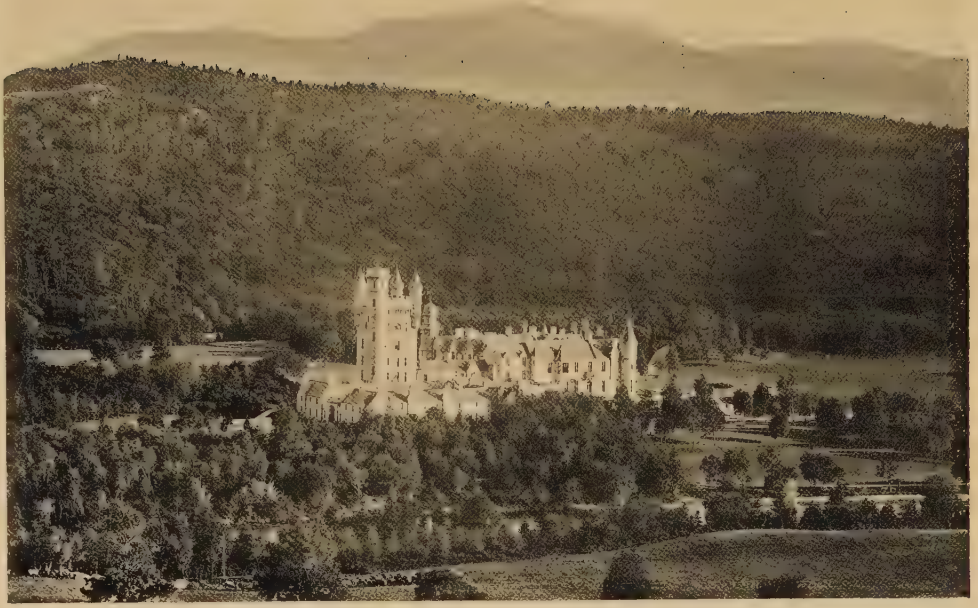

Photo. by Spooner

BALMORAL.

fied with all that had been done. "The house is charming; the rooms delightful; the furniture, papers, everything perfection." In August of next year the royal party found all the work of building completed, and the old castle gone entirely.

Balmoral is peculiarly associated with the Prince Consort. The queen described it as his "own creation, own work, own building." After his death in 1861 her visits became, however, even more frequent. She began a practice of spending there about a month of the early summer, generally from the middle of May until the middle of June, when, since there were none of the attractions of shooting, she was able to enjoy much quiet.

She took great interest in local pursuits and customs; and was present frequently at games, at the festivities of her neighbours, rich and poor, at the Braemar gathering. She was moreover an assiduous visitor of her tenantry. Her love of scenery and of the open air led her to make many expeditions into the beautiful country which lies around the castle. The house is identified with her domestic interests: she entertained in it her children with their families, and other royal personages related to her; marriages and births in the royal family were celebrated by bonfires on the hillside and by dinners and balls. She was attended always at Balmoral by a cabinet minister, and the house received all the great Victorian statesmen, Beaconsfield, Granville, Russell, Palmerston, Gladstone, and Salisbury. Earl Russell for several seasons occupied Abergeldie Castle.

At Balmoral in 1852 the queen heard the news of the death of the Duke of Wellington. On the 10th of September 1855, Lord Granville, then at the castle, received a telegram from General Simpson: "Sevas-

topol is in the hands of the Allies." A bonfire, which had been prepared on the arrival, a year before, of a false report of this success, was lit on the top of the cairn. "It blazed forth brilliantly," wrote the queen, "and we could see the numerous figures surrounding it—some dancing, all shouting—Ross playing his pipes, and Grant and Macdonald firing off guns continually. . . . The people had been drinking healths in whisky and were in great ecstasy." They came afterwards under the windows of the castle, singing and playing the pipes, and cheered the queen, the prince, the emperor of the French, and the downfall of Sevastopol.

The British Association in 1859, the year of the presidency of the Prince Consort, held its annual meeting at Aberdeen; and a fête was given to its members at Balmoral. In cold and showery weather, while a high and bitter wind was blowing, Highland games took place beyond the terraced garden on the west side of the castle. The Farquharson Highlanders under Colonel Farquharson, the Duffs under Lord Fife, and the Forbeses under Sir Charles Forbes, with pipers playing and plaids waving in the wind, marched first on to the ground. The royal family, who were dressed in the royal Stewart tartan, occupied the terrace with the invited guests and certain distinguished members of the association, among them Professor Owen, Sir Roderick Murchison, Sir David Brewster, and Sir John Bowring. The usual exercises were held, and the prizes were presented by the queen. It was on this occasion that the queen heard, from Sir Roderick Murchison, that the remains of Sir John Franklin's expedition had been found.

On the 15th of October 1867, the queen unveiled the statue of the Prince Consort erected at Balmoral.

At the castle, three years later, the engagement of the Princess Louise to Lord Lorne, now Duke of Argyll, took place. The Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh were received by the queen in 1874.

The queen at Ballater, in September 1876, presented their colours to the Royal Scots, the regiment which her father had commanded. The ceremony was marred by a heavy fall of rain. After the royal salute the regiment went through the trooping of the colours, during which the "Garb of Old Gaul," the "Dumbarton Drums," and, in compliment to the queen, the "Fille du Régiment," were played by the band. The queen made a short speech before she handed the colours to two sub-lieutenants; and she received from Colonel M'Guire the old colours, which she promised to take to Windsor.

It was at Balmoral, in June 1879, that the queen heard the news of the death in Natal of the Prince Imperial, at the hands of a band of Zulus. She travelled south immediately afterwards; and it was on this occasion that she crossed the newly-erected and "marvellous Tay Bridge." "Immense crowds everywhere, flags waving in every direction, and the whole population out. . . . The provost, splendidly attired, presented an address. Ladies presented beautiful bouquets to Beatrice and me." In the succeeding winter, while a train was crossing it, the bridge collapsed into the river.

In September of this year the Duke and Duchess of Connaught were welcomed at Balmoral.

Three years later, on the 11th of September, the queen received from Sir John M'Neill a telegram marked "very secret." She read the words, "Determined to attack the enemy with a very large force on Wednesday." After two days of suspense came

the news by Reuter that fighting was in progress, and that the enemy had been routed with heavy loss at Tel-el-Kebir. It was confirmed by another telegram from Sir John M'Neill: "A great victory; Duke safe and well." The reference was to the Duke of Connaught, who commanded his brigade during the battle.

These are the chief events of public interest which were connected with Balmoral Castle in the reign of Victoria. At Balmoral however she was important not only as a queen but also as a landowner, and in this character she did much useful work.

In the early nineteenth century, when there was no penny post and no widely circulated newspaper, Crathie and Braemar parishes constituted a truly isolated district. Barren and remote as they were, no means had been taken to connect them with more populous centres; and even in summer, when the snow had melted from the glens, there were few carriages to enable communication.

The crofters generally farmed from ten to twelve acres, which yielded barely enough grain for the support of themselves and their families. They possessed as a rule a cow, and milk and oatmeal were their staple food. The more prosperous owned the sheep which grazed on the hillside, and of which the wool was spun by the women, and woven into blankets, plaids, and tartan cloth. Within living recollection only eleven hundred of the thirty thousand acres on the estates of Balmoral, Abergeldie, and Birkhall were arable land; and these, from the absence of fences, were liable to the depredations of deer and other game. Agriculture was very primitive; and ploughing was done by hand or by oxen.

Only the dwellings of lairds, the manses, and

a few other houses were of stone. The peasant lived in a "but and ben," a two-roomed hut of unhewn stones and mud, thatched with heather or broom, and with an earthen floor. Peat and wood fires gave plentiful heat; but the long evenings were lit only by the old "crusie" lamps which were rather ornamental than effective. Windows were little more than a foot square and were not constructed to open, and the family slept in box-beds. Parish schools were here as good as elsewhere in Scotland; but the weather and roads made the attendance of children irregular, and it was common to find persons who could not write, some even who could not read.

The regular visits of the court naturally brought more employment and more wealth to the district, and connected it also with the outside world. But beyond this, on the royal estates of Balmoral and Birkhall, and on Abergeldie as leased to the crown, very much has been done to improve the condition of the tenantry. Dr. Robertson, commissioner to Queen Victoria on her Highland property, contributed to "The Prince Consort's Farms," by J. C. Morton, a chapter on Balmoral:—

"To increase the comforts of his tenants and to elevate their moral and social condition were objects steadily kept in view from the time the prince became a proprietor of Highland property, and they were pursued with unabated zeal till the end of his life. Schools were erected and teachers appointed for the education of the young, and to give a taste for reading and increase the means of information, an excellent library, the joint gift of her Majesty the queen and the prince, was established at Balmoral and thrown open, not only to tenants and servants, but to all in the neighbourhood. . . . Comfortable cottages have

replaced the former miserable dwellings; farm offices, according to the size of the farms, have been erected; money has been advanced for the draining, trenching, and improvement of waste land; new roads have been opened up and old ones repaired; fences have been renewed, and upwards of one thousand acres of unreclaimable land planted. But it was not to agricultural improvements alone that his royal highness's attention was directed; he saw the advantage of encouraging tradesmen and labourers of good character to settle upon his estates. Houses and gardens, with a croft where it could be conveniently added, were provided at a moderate rent, and the extensive works thus undertaken were carried on over a series of years, so as to give constant employment."

The policy of the prince was continued by Queen Victoria and King Edward.

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Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
Edinburgh & London

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